DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 167 008 HE 010 990

AUTHOR	Geiger, Roger L.
TITLE	Universities and the State in Belgium: Past and Present Dimensions of Higher Education in a Divided Society. Yale Higher Education Research Group Working Paper 29.
INSTITUTION	Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn. Inst. for Social and Policy Studies.
SPONS AGENCY	Lilly Endowment, Inc., Indianapolis, Ind.
REPORT NO	YHERG-29
PUB DATE	Nov 78
NOTE	93p.; Light type may not reproduce clearly
AVAILABLE FROM	Higher Education Research Group, Institution for Social and Policy Studies, Yale University, 1732 Yale Station, New Haven, CT 06520
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$4.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*College Role; Comparative Education; Educational Finance; *Educational History; Educational Trends; Enrollment; Enrollment Trends; *Foreign Countries; *Government School Relationship; *Higher Education; Historical Reviews; Institutional Autonomy; *Postsecondary Education As a Field of Study; Technical Education; Trend Analysis
IDENTIFIERS	*Belgium

ABSTRACT

This paper, part of a series of studies on higher education in different countries, traces the origins of higher education in Belgium to the 1970's. From 1835-1876, Belgium universities were shaped by polarization between Catholics and liberals, uncertainty about the basic institutional patterns in higher education, and the legislative intrusion of the state in higher education. The Higher Education law of 1876 inaugurated a withdrawal of the state from the affairs of the universities, and the challenge of German Science placed an emphasis on research and scholarship. From World War I to 1960, the importance of the Flemish language increased in the universities, the principle of state financing of the private universities was established, and the state universities progressively won greater administrative autonomy from the state. The evolution and influence of higher technical education, the university expansion problem from 1960-65, the expulsion of the French from Louvain, the rebellion against the traditional university, and construction of the new order from 1969-71 are covered. Higher education enrollment stabilization in the 1970's, the difficulty of the first candidature, upgrading of technical education, the uncertainty of university-state relations, recurrent education, part-time university education, education for nontraditional students, and establishment of an open university are discussed. (SW)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED167008

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

UNIVERSITIES AND THE STATE IN BELGIUM: PAST AND PRESENT DIMENSIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN A DIVIDED SOCIETY

by

Roger L. Geiger*
YALE HIGHER EDUCATION RESEARCH GROUP

WORKING PAPER
YHERG-29

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE, NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Yale Univ

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND THE ERIC SYSTEM CONTRACTORS."

November 1978

*Roger L. Geiger
Research Associate
Higher Education Research Group

The research reported in this paper has been part of the work conducted by the Yale Higher Education Research Group. It has been supported by research funds from the Lilly Endowment for the comparative study of academic organization and governance.

In the interest of fullest possible circulation of information and ideas, the Higher Education Research Group reproduces and distributes these Working Papers at the request of authors who are affiliated with the Group. The views expressed are those of the authors.

Content of this Working Paper is not for publication or for quotation without permission. A list of the Working Papers of the Group may be obtained from the address below.

HE 010 990

Higher Education Research Group
Institution for Social and Policy Studies
Yale University
1732 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface iii

Part I: From the Origins of the Universities to 1960 1

1. 1835-1876: The Pre-Modern University 4

2. 1876-1914: Efflorescence of the Traditional University 8

3. World War I to 1960: Autonomy and Dependence of the Traditional University 12

4. Higher Technical Education 19

Part II: The Crisis Years of Belgian Higher Education 25

1. The University Expansion Problem, 1960-65 28

2. The Expulsion of the French from Louvain 32

3. The Rebellion Against the Traditional University 35

4. Constructing the New Order, 1969-71 40

Part III: The New Regime and the Challenge of the 1970s 48

1. The End of Expansion 49

2. Upgrading Technical Higher Education 62

3. The Uncertainty of University-State Relations 67

4. Future Prospects of Belgian Universities 75

Bibliography 83

P R E F A C E

Belgium at first glance may not appear to be a useful subject for the purposes of comparative generalizations. A nation of fewer than 10 million people, deeply divided between a Latin culture in the south and a Germanic culture in the north, arrayed about a cosmopolitan metropolis largely oriented toward its role as the hub of European intercommunication, Belgium, like Switzerland or even Andorra, is apparently too distinctive a society to contribute significantly to the search for general principles of political development or common facets of the Western experience. Such an impression, if it exists, would certainly be misleading for the area of higher education. There, notwithstanding the unique cultural faultlines and political terrain of the country, the Belgian experience presents a set of general similarities as well as some interesting differences from the rest of Western Europe. In the middle of the nineteenth century government concern about the content of university credentials produced a rigid and closely monitered curriculum for all institutions. A transition to academic laissez-faire in the latter part of the century allowed a competitive university structure to develop, largely through the leadership of the private sector. The first sixty years of the twentieth century brought an ever greater reliance upon the resources of the national government and complications from the relentless march of Flemish cultural parity. However, the most turbulent era for higher education in Belgium, as elsewhere, was the 1960s. Ballooning enrollments and burgeoning facilities created problems enough, but they were compounded at the end of the decade by the Belgian component of the international student rebellion plus the irreconcilable rupture of the French and Flemish sections of the Catholic University of Louvain. By 1971 the elements of what can be regarded as a new regime in Belgian higher education were in place. After several years of operation it is now clear that the Belgian adaptation to contemporary

Dr. Jean Debelle, Professor Henri Janne and Dr. Jose Van de Vijvere for their comments on earlier portions of this manuscript. Needless to add, the responsibility for all of the judgments offered here are solely my own. Finally, I would like to express my special gratitude to Professor Jef Verhoeven and Chris Verhoeven for their extraordinary efforts to give a foreigner a deeper appreciation of their country.

conditions is a significant departure from other European systems of higher education. By diverting the bulk of mass higher education into the non-university sector, the Belgians have managed to preserve much of the former character and quality of university education. In addition, they are virtually alone in maintaining an open choice of programs for qualified students. In other respects, such as university-state relations, Belgium illustrates common problems of Western higher education in an acute form.

The following account will attempt to weave these threads and a number of others into some meaningful patterns. Part I will sketch the evolution of the Belgian system of higher education from its origins to 1960. The multiple crises of the next decade are then analysed in Part II. The final part assesses the experience of the current decade in order to evaluate the present state of higher education in Belgium and the likely course of its development in the near future. Although the primary purpose of this inquiry has been to establish a foundation of basic knowledge about the Belgian system which could be utilized for subsequent thematic comparative work (e.g. Geiger, 1978b), what emerges is also an intriguing case study, fully deserving attention in its own right.

This research was conducted during the 1977-78 academic year under the support of the Lilly Endowment. It was assisted at various stages of its preparation by the suggestions of members of the Higher Education Research Group of Yale University, and particularly by the attention of its Director, Burton R. Clark. I also benefited from the assistance of the Institut d'éducation of the European Cultural Foundation for which I would like to thank Dr. Ladislav Cerych and Dr. Gabriele Fragnière. This project would scarcely have been possible, however, without the cooperation of the many Belgians who discussed facets of their system of higher education with me. I am deeply grateful to them, and particularly indebted to Dr. Emile Boulpaep,

PART I: FROM THE ORIGINS OF THE UNIVERSITIES TO 1960

The Revolution of 1830 which separated Belgium from the Kingdom of the United Netherlands created a virtual tabula rasa for higher education in the newly independent state. While successive government commissions puzzled over the creation and placement of one or two state universities, Belgian Catholics eagerly entered this vacuum by establishing a "free" Catholic university in 1834. The Rector's opening speech left no doubt as to the principles of the new institution: "as Catholics, we must accept all doctrines emanating from the Holy See, and repudiate contrary doctrines with all our soul." Barely two weeks later (20 November 1834) liberals led by Theodore Verhaegen countered by opening the Free University of Brussels, and declaring that the human sciences "must remain entirely divorced from Catholicism." Goaded by these initiatives, the Belgian parliament voted the following year to resurrect as state universities the formerly Dutch institutions in Ghent and Liège (Mallinson 1963, pp. 38-43). The new Belgian state thus found itself virtually from its outset with four distinctly different universities, each one corresponding quite closely to the divisions created by the two cultural fault lines cutting across Belgian society. These cleavages are so fundamental to the development of all Belgian institutions that they require a brief explanation.

Crossing Belgium in an east-west line running south of Brussels is a linguistic frontier that dates from the 5th century A.D. To the north of the frontier in Flanders lie four Flemish-speaking provinces and Flemish Brabant; below it are four French-speaking, or Walloon, provinces and the southern part of Brabant. Brussels, lying near the center of Brabant, has been linguistically mixed as a result of an historical immigration of Walloons to this center of commerce and government. Although Dutch is now the official language of Flanders, the cities of this region were long dominated culturally and

politically by an indigenous francophone bourgeoisie. For this reason the state university in Flanders, the University of Ghent, remained a French institution until after World War I. The University of Liège, predominantly serving Wallonia, has always been completely French.

The second basic cleavage in Belgian society was inherent in the political coalition that was responsible for the country's independence. French and Flemish Catholics and the French bourgeoisie all had had cultural, religious and economic grievances against the clumsy rule of the Protestant Dutch Monarchy. Left to themselves, however, they had numerous differences with each other. Although Belgium is a nominally Catholic country, the cultural hegemony of the Church Hierarchy extended over the bulk of the Flemings but only a portion of the French. The French-speaking bourgeoisie, in particular, had been strongly influenced by Enlightenment rationalism and the secularism of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic regimes in France. Moreover, given the restricted suffrage of the new regime, their political influence far outstripped their relative weight in the population. Belgium thus reproduced a political and religious conflict between Catholic and Liberals that was vividly felt in other European countries during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, but without the venerable institutions and transcendant loyalties that usually contained this conflict elsewhere.

The intense rivalries engendered by the fundamental cleavages in Belgian society have tended to be controled at the national level through a process that has been labeled "consociational democracy" (Lijphart 1977). What this means is that conflicts between interested groups are resolved by national leaders through laboriously negotiated compromises which protect the special interests of all parties and apportion advantages equitably between them. The universities have seldom been able to rise above this fray, not only because education at all levels has been one of the chief objects of both ideological

and linguistic struggles, but because the universities as originally constituted each had a special mission, a particular constituency, and hence a naturally partisan role. The Catholic University, which installed itself at Louvain and assumed the legacy of the medieval University of Louvain (1425-1797), was governed by the Bishops of Belgium, through the Rector they appointed. Embodying the authority of the Church hierarchy, Louvain became the obvious spokesman of Catholic higher learning in Belgium, but it also had an international role in the Catholic world. The Free University of Brussels, Louvain's antithesis, has always carried an urban, secular, self-consciously progressive image. It has consequently aspired to fulfill a national role, based on its dedication to science and free inquiry while also maintaining a special relationship with the capital. During its early years the University bore the unpopularity of its advanced views with considerable pride, and was only able to survive Catholic and government hostility through the support of its backers and the city of Brussels. The two state universities have taken their identity from their regional roles, aspiring to combine cultural leadership in their respective areas with support for economic development. When the University of Ghent became a Flemish-language institution in 1930 the separate missions of the two state universities were more starkly distinguished: the Université de Liège would serve the French of eastern Wallonia, while what came to be the Rijksuniversiteit Gent provided higher education for the inhabitants of the western part of Flanders. The distinctive missions of the original Belgian universities produced a natural compartmentalization which inhibited the movement of people and ideas between institutions. Nevertheless, in the broad lines of their development, the universities passed through the same successive stages.

1. 1835-1876: The Pre-Modern University

During this formative period the development of Belgian universities was shaped by three general conditions: 1) ideological polarization between Catholics and liberals; 2) uncertainty about the establishment of the basic institutional patterns in higher education; and 3) the direct, and rather unskillful legislative intrusion of the state in the organization and conduct of higher studies.

The new Belgian universities were organized around Faculties of Philosophy, Science, Law and Medicine (plus Theology at Louvain), with the first two serving partly as antechambers for the professional faculties. Each Faculty had an elected dean as its head, and the chief academic officer was a rector chosen (except at Louvain) by and from the professors. In addition, Belgian universities established the position of "administrator-inspector"--an office responsible for the over-all functioning of the university. In the state universities the administrator-inspectors were the agents of rather tight governmental control during this period.

The process of choosing Belgian professors in this era was somewhat erratic for several reasons. The weakness of specialized scientific communities meant that scholarly achievement alone was seldom a sufficient criterion for appointment, as it theoretically was within the more competitive German university system. Ideological polarization was also an important factor in appointments, and contributed considerably to the compartmentalization of the university system. The exodus of Dutch professors after the Revolution of 1830 left the new kingdom of Belgium with a dearth of qualified university teachers. All four universities were consequently obliged to seek professors across the frontiers, predominately in Germany and France. After this initial recruitment, however, further additions to the professoriat of each university tended to home grown. Thus, even though an often bitter rivalry existed

between universities, especially between Louvain and Brussels, this did not produce constructive, competitive interaction. Such scholarly competition as existed was concentrated on the "university concours," in which individuals from the various universities contributed scholarly exercises on predetermined questions for honorific government prizes. These were little different from the competitions sponsored by learned academies in the 18th century, and probably even less likely to contribute to the advancement of science.

The problem of judging a candidate's expertise without reliance upon an established scientific community is exemplified by the early experience of the Free University of Brussels. They began by adopting a formal competition (concours) to choose new professors, a procedure then in use in France. In effect, this approach substituted present performance for past scientific achievement as the basis of evaluation. Although this practice was quickly abandoned, it was largely for want of suitable candidates willing to undergo such an ordeal (Vanderkindere 1884, pp. 49-51). From that point on, the governing Council of the University made nominations directly after consultation with the Faculty concerned.

Later in this same period the government deemed it desirable to inject new blood into the Faculties of the state universities by creating privat docenten who could offer courses on their own initiative (1864). Numerous authorizations were made, but few of those designated actually gave a course. This effort to emulate the widely admired German practice consequently lapsed quickly into disuse (Harsin 1954, pp. 64-65).

The Belgian Constitution asserted freedom of education as a basic right, but when the government came to implement this right in higher education its actions revealed some major reservations. Because a university degree conferred legal privileges to its possessor with regard to state employment, the government felt obliged to exert some control over who attended universities,

what they studied there, and especially the knowledge necessary to earn a degree. The basic law on higher education (27 September 1835) fixed the degrees of candidate and doctor, and prescribed a curriculum to be covered in each of the four faculties. To assure the fulfillment of these programs it created a "Central Jury" to examine all those aspiring to degrees. While there were undoubtedly good reasons for external controls during this inchoate stage of university development, there were also major disadvantages to this arrangement. Degree examinations with fixed programs generally have a stifling effect upon university courses, forcing them to be at once comprehensive and superficial, encouraging memorization while displacing creativity and intellectual curiosity. The Law of 1835 created just these tendencies in Belgium. By 1857 the degree programs had become so overloaded with indispensible materials that some action was necessary to make the examinations more manageable. The government decreed that certain subjects would become "certificate courses," which students would be required to attend in order to earn a certificate, but whose content would henceforth not be included in degree examinations. This innovation was universally decried as soon as it became apparent that physical presence in a lecture was a poor substitute for intellectual effort. It nevertheless remained in force until the major reform of 1876.

In constituting the Central Juries the government seems to have considerably exceeded prudent limits of centralized control. It was specified that each Jury would contain 2 members chosen by the Chamber of Deputies, two picked by the Senate, and three designated by the Minister of the Interior (who was responsible for education during this period). Thus politics were thrust into the granting of degrees in an already polarized environment. The result initially was discrimination against the Free University of Brussels in the selection of Jury members. A satisfactory compromise was not enacted until 1849, when dual "combined juries" containing equal representation of free and

state universities replaced the Central Jury. By this arrangement professors from Louvain and Brussels would always be paired with professors from one of the state universities, but never with each other.

If the Law of 1849 remedied one source of difficulties, it opened an entirely new one by attempting to regulate admissions to the universities. Previously entrance to the universities had been entirely open, with the natural consequence that rather ill-prepared students were commonplace. In reaction, a rigorous and comprehensive university qualifying exam was created that led to the title, élève universitaire. This innovation had detrimental effect upon the upper grades of secondary education, and served to depreciate the secondary school-leaving diploma, the certificat d'humanités. It also seems to have done little to raise the competence of university students. Such criticisms forced the abandonment of this examination in 1855, but in only five years time it was once again deemed necessary to erect a barrier to university admission. The new "graduate's examination," however, was neither as comprehensive nor as strictly administered as the previous one, and it consequently sufficed without great inconvenience until secondary education in Belgium became more fully developed.

The evolution of Belgian universities during their pre-modern period took place through a process of trial and error, with the universities undoubtedly making as many false steps on their own as were imposed by unenlightened government legislation. Nevertheless, this evolution appears to have been shaped by both ideological and practical forces. The pervasive effects of the opposition of Catholics and liberals penetrated to the heart of the universities' purposes. The commitment to "free inquiry" at Brussels, like the dedication to the "search for truth" at Louvain, was a thinly veiled battle cry in a spiritual and political war. Nor were the free universities the only partisans in this struggle. In the late 1850s the Church launched an offensive against state

education in general which included the demand that two "free-thinking" professors at Ghent be dismissed. Moreover, the partisans quickly descended from the metaphysical clouds to the political arena whenever the organization of higher education became an issue. In practical affairs the universities were dominated by concern for what would today be called credentials. The reigning view was that universities had the responsibility of presiding over a fixed body of knowledge. The primary consideration, then, was to ensure that this knowledge had been successfully imparted to those who were legally certified to possess it. If one aspect of universities was overshadowed in this balance of forces it was certainly the role of science, in the broadest sense. Scholarship was never absent from the early Belgian universities, but the notion that the university should be committed to expanding the frontiers of knowledge through scholarly research was scarcely a force during their early years. By the 1870s, however, this powerful idea emanating from the prestigious universities of Germany began to effect higher education in Belgium, as well as the rest of the Western World.

2. 1876-1914: Efflorescence of the Traditional University

The higher education law of 1876 abolished combined juries, and allowed the universities to grant legal degrees upon their own authority. This measure inaugurated a withdrawal of the state from the affairs of the universities, thus according them considerable control over their own development. During this decade the challenge of German science also began to be felt in the Belgian faculties, causing a gradual, but unmistakable reorientation toward research and scholarship. While the ideological opposition of Catholics and liberals remained firm, it ceased to play a determinative role in the evolution of higher education. However, after the turn of the century the growing linguistic conflict in Flanders became an inescapable problem.

The 1876 law, even though it was enacted after 10 years of discussions, was nevertheless another abrupt and heavyhanded intrusion by the state into the basic organization of higher education. Not only did it give the universities the authority to confer their own degrees, but it also abolished all entrance requirements for enrolling in the faculties. The four universities did not gain a monopoly over the granting of degrees under the new law because the Jury Central was reestablished to examine and award degrees to candidates who were not from the universities. In this way the freedom of education that was guaranteed in the Belgian Constitution was effectively preserved. New institutions could be formed without worry over accreditation if they prepared students for the Jury Central*. The 1876 law was not particularly welcomed by the universities. At Brussels, for example, there was fear of an influx of ill-prepared students and of the competition of cheap degrees (Vanderkindere 1884, pp. 120-121). Only the first fear, it will be seen, was well-founded. The quality of degrees was maintained formally by a government commission responsible for determining that university degrees met the legal requirements. Their efforts were supplemented by an advisory council of the Minister of the Interior, made up largely of representatives of the faculties, (Conseil de perfectionnement de l'enseignement supérieur, est. 1849), which had considerable authority over the nature and contents of any new degrees. But more important for preserving the integrity of Belgian higher education was what contemporaries referred to as the growing scientific spirit in the universities. Thus, the law of 1876 left the universities largely to their own devices academically just at the time when they were most capable of benefiting from this freedom.

The Belgian universities had long maintained linkages with German higher

---

* This mechanism for earning a national degree still exists, however since 1970 examinations have been confided to the universities instead of being given by a specially constituted jury.

learning, but prior to 1876 they had little capacity to emulate them by stimulating their own research efforts. The first notable efforts in this direction took place in the natural sciences and in medicine, where new facilities with up-to-date laboratories began to be planned and erected. With scientific laboratories came the establishment of new courses, compulsory lab work, and the opening of numerous assistant positions (1883)for those showing promise for scientific careers. The creation of a wide variety of scientific institutes gradually followed, made possible by the financial support of both the state and private benefactors. The research imperative pierced the philosophical faculties only slightly later, and was completely assimilated there as well. During the 1880s serious historical scholarship was introduced in all four philosophical faculties. Professors took the initiative in establishing optional German-style seminars (cours pratiques), where professors guided students in the critical study of sources (Frédéricq 1890). However, the full development of humanistic scholarship required the fundamental changes in the organization of studies that were enacted into law in 1890. This higher education law reorganized the curricula to accommodate specialized historical and philological studies. It also made the doctorate in philosophy a research degree by requiring a learned thesis. Thus, with Lehrfreiheit granted to a core of dedicated scholars, and a measure of Lernfreiheit assured by the removal of state control, Belgian universities entered the twentieth century embodying the spirit and many of the institutions of German research universities.

After the law of 1890 Belgian universities conformed quite closely to the general European pattern. A Secondary school-leaving certificate (certificat d'humanités) was required to enroll as a student. The science and philosophy faculties were dedicated to basic research, as well as fulfilling the more immediate need of training secondary-school teachers. in 1911 the free universities were accorded a civil personality by the state, largely to

facilitate the management of their endowments; and in 1920 the same right was extended to the universities of the state.

Even as the Belgian professors sought to emulate the German idea of a university, they found the social and linguistic realities of Belgian society impinging upon higher education. There had been a language problem inherent to Belgian education from the moment that the French-speaking governing class led the country, whose more humble majority in Flanders spoke Flemish, to independence. During the second half of the nineteenth century, as Flemings laboriously wrung civil and educational concessions from the government, the implications of the language problem inexorably encroached upon higher education. When Flemish courses were finally introduced in the secondary schools of Flanders (1883), special courses had to be hastily created at the universities of Ghent and Louvain to train qualified teachers (1884). These were extended after 1890 when the universities became responsible for training all secondary teachers. And, when Flemish became the language of judicial proceedings and public administration in Flanders (1873, 1878), pressure began to mount against the Ghent Faculty of Law for instruction in Flemish (Mallinson 1963, pp. 144-66). However, these efforts represented only a bare minimum in terms of equal civil rights for the Flemings. A more determined branch of the movement for Flemish rights began to claim full social and cultural parity with French-speaking Belgians. Cultural equality could obviously never be achieved as long as French remained the language of higher learning; and efforts at social advancement would be severely hindered as long as Flemings were denied higher education in their native tongue. For a long time to come this would remain the crux of the issue of Flemish equality as it impinged upon the universities. Moreover, its adherents seemed to have legal precedent on their side when Flemish was declared to be an official language of Belgium together with French (1898). However, the

claims of the Flemish movement required at the very least that the University of Ghent become a Flemish language institution, and this was a disquieting prospect for its professors.

The professors of Ghent were not necessarily opposed to some degree of bilinguialism. Some individual courses were voluntarily offered in Flemish (this also occurred, but to a lesser extent, at Brussels and Louvain), and measures were taken in 1890 to assure that teachers and lawyers would be competent in Flemish. But to abandon French--an international language of scholarship--would needlessly isolate the university, they felt, and probably force some of its best scholars to leave. In 1899 the professors voted overwhelmingly to reject the transformation of Ghent into a purely Flemish university. Such a transformation would also have been anathema to a major share of the university's constituency--the French bourgeoisie of Flanders. In the years before the outbreak of the war the Flemish claims upon the University of Ghent became more strident and more difficult to resist. A university commission (1907-11) recommended a gradual transition to a complete Flemish-language university, but legislation to this effect became ensnared in the numerous strands of conflicting interests. At this juncture it had become only a question of when, and to what extent, Flemish would become the language of the University of Ghent. The enormous disruptions of World War I postponed any possible remedy, and the German efforts to woo the Flemish complicated relations between the linguistic communities. But in the aftermath of the war this was no longer the only problem facing Belgian universities.

3. World War I to 1960: Autonomy and Dependence of the Traditional University

Through this turbulent forty year period the evolution of Belgian universities was characterized by three salient trends. Perhaps most obvious was the gradual replication of parallel institutions of higher education in

the Flemish language. Secondly, the principle of state financing of the private universities was established shortly after the First World War, and became an ever more dominant factor in the operation of these institutions thereafter. The state universities, on the other hand, progressively won greater administrative autonomy from the state. In terms of university growth this was not a homogeneous period. The inter-war years brought erratic fluctuations in enrollments and an end to pre-war expansion; however, the end of the Second World War inaugurated a sustained period of growth. Consequently, by 1960 the Belgian system of higher education faced a battery of problems concerning both expansion and modernization of the universities.

The long-standing claims of the Flemish upon the University of Ghent received official recognition in 1923. Following a succession of commissions and reports, a piece of compromise legislation was passed that year making Flemish the administrative language of the university, but requiring that instruction be bilingual. Students could choose either a Flemish language track in which 2/3 of their courses would be in that language and 1/3 in French, or a French track in which these proportions were reversed. Given the bitter feelings over this issue, it is not surprising that this compromise pleased neither side. The Flemish militants advocated a boycott of the University, and the French effected a partial secession, organizing the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Françaises across the street from the University. In the light of the full equality that had been promised to Flemish-speaking Belgians, the defense of French at Ghent was untenable for long. This rancorous controversy persisted for several years, but the political pressure of the Flemings won the transformation of the University of Ghent into a purely Flemish institution in 1930 (Mallinson 1963, pp. 160-64). The dire predictions that Ghent would lose its academic stature as a Flemish institution proved false. However, its enrollments continued for some time

to be the smallest of the Belgian universities.

The recognition of Flemish by the private universities was a more gradual and, until its final stage, a less traumatic development. The mission of these universities was not only to educate students, but to propagate their respective cultural positions throughout the country. They both consequently had strong incentives to accommodate the growing demand for higher instruction in Flemish. Each university offered some courses in Flemish even before World War I. The process of creating entire parallel degree programs in Flemish was started by Louvain in 1932. Brussels followed in a more limited way, beginning with the Faculty of Law in 1935. This "doubling" of degree programs proceeded rapidly in Louvain, so that virtually the entire curriculum was offered in both languages by the 1960s. It was only then that the free universities would discover, as Ghent had much earlier, that bilingualism is a halfway measure inherently abrasive to the nationalist sensibilities of the Flemings.

The aftermath of World War I found both free universities in difficult financial straits. Louvain suffered extensive damage from the war, Brussels found it necessary to relocate its campus, and inflation destroyed the pre-war financial foundation of both institutions. Private gifts through a joint fund-raising drive and American help from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Committee for the Relief of Belgium were insufficient to completely rectify the situation. The latter effort nevertheless had a significant impact upon Belgian universities. When the Committee for the Relief of Belgium under the direction of Herbert Hoover terminated its activities it designated a large portion of its unspent funds for the long-range support of higher education. Part went to the endowments of the four universities, but only after a special law created patrimonies for the state institutions (1920). A large endowment was also established for the creation and maintenance

of the Fondation universitaire, an organization that served as a club for all Belgian professors as well as providing important services to the scholarly community. Beyond its specific functions, however, it was an important means of breaking down, in at least a small way, the nearly total separation between the different university communities.

The inescapable remedy for the financial plight of the free universities was some form of government subsidy. Such an arrangement would be no novelty for Belgium, where the state had long been involved in the support of church-run schools. Beginning in 1922 they were each assisted with a grant of one million francs--a sum representing about 1/7 of the total national higher education budget. In 1930 this subsidy was placed on a new footing: three-fifths of the credits allocated to Ghent and Liège were to be divided by Louvain and Brussels. No additional controls were placed upon the free universities in compensation for state support, but henceforth the financing of both public and private universities were inextricably linked. The subsidy formula was changed somewhat in 1949 when an amount equal to 2/3 of the regular budgets of the state universities was reserved for private higher education (5/12 each for Brussels and Louvain, 2/12 for other private higher education), and various forms of indexed aid were added to this general grant. In 1960, however, the free universities claimed a significantly larger share of the higher education budget. The grant to each university was raised to 44% of the base, plus an additional 2.2% for each 1500 students above 5000. They also received a subsidy for pensions and guaranteed 2% interest loans from the state. Thus, just as Belgian higher education entered a period of rapid growth and extensive change, the public and private universities became engaged in direct competition for the resources of the state (Dubisson 1963; Demoulin 1967, pp. 16-17).

At the same time that the state was extending its largesse to the free

universities it was withdrawing some of the centralized administrative controls from the state universities. The affairs of these institutions had always been sharply divided between academic and administrative matters. The chief academic officer was the rector who was appointed by the King upon the advice of the Minister of Education, who in turn usually recommended the choice of the professors. The administrative head of each university was an "inspector-administrator" who was the resident agent of the Ministry. This cumbersome centralization was halted in 1953 in an effort to decentralize the management of the universities, and to allow the members of the universities to participate in its total operation (Dubuisson 1963). The administrator-inspector was replaced by an Administrative Council consisting of members elected by the Faculty Councils and the Academic Council. The rector presided over this Council, but he was assisted by a vice president who became in effect a kind of business manager. The Ministry was henceforth represented by a "commissioner" (commissaire du gouvernement) who assured that all university actions conformed to existing laws and regulations. Self-government in the state universities was extended in 1960 to some financial matters, but the ultimate authority of the Ministry continued to predominate in the areas of programs and personnel.

A similar unification of academic and administrative authority occurred much earlier at the Free University of Brussels. The supreme authority there since its foundation has been the Administrative Council whose permanent members have been chosen by cooptation, much like an American board of trustees. Their agent in the running of the university was also an inspector-administrator. However, in 1907 this position was replaced by a "Permanent Bureau" consisting of the president and vice-president of the Council, the rector and an "administrator" (i.e. business manager). Since the rector had been elected since 1861 from among the professors, this ensured them a measure of participation

in the direction of the university. The Catholic University of Louvain has always departed significantly from the Belgian pattern of university governance. There the supreme authority has been the bishops of Belgium, with the Archbishop of Malines serving as "Grand Chancellor." The bishops name the rector whose authority covers all university affairs. The governance structure of Louvain received a major renovation in 1962 when the administration was "doubled," just as the curriculum had been. The French and the Flemish parts of the university were each provided with a pro-rector, a secretary and a general administrator (the latter two handling administrative and financial matters). An Administrative Council was also created which included the officers just named, and which was presided over by the rector. Faculty participation was limited to representation in a large advisory "General Council" along with the administrative officers and select external members (Dubuisson 1963).

During this period the Belgians exhibited a consistent preoccupation with maintaining a high level of research activity within the universities and keeping university instruction current with the expanding frontiers of knowledge. There is no need to catalogue the continued proliferation of university institutes and new programs. Perhaps it is more significant to note the beginning of a national effort to encourage scientific research. An appeal by King Albert in 1927 for donations to a scientific research fund rather quickly produced 100 million francs with which to launch the Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique (F.N.R.S.). Although the purpose of the Fund was to support scientific projects in general, most of its grants found their way to the universities. After World War II subsidies from the public treasury have allowed the F.N.R.S. to expand its support of Belgian science. The Post-War period also saw the birth of institutional mechanisms to sustain "Big Science": e.g. the Institut Interuniversitaire des Sciences

Nucléaires and the Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique Médicale. By 1959 there was a sufficient number of institutions supporting Belgian science to require a reorganization of the F.N.R.S., and the creation of an advisory National Science Policy Council (1959) to coordinate this effort (OECD 1966; Meynaud, et al. 1965, chap. III).

In curricular matters the Belgian universities long remained under the regime established by the basic law of 1929. Like previous "organic" laws it set forth the structure of degrees in the university, as well as the content of the legal, or academic degrees. The universities could and did offer upon their own authority "scientific" degrees covering materials not included in the official program. The first basic degree for all university students was that of candidate (2 years). In the humanities and sciences this could be followed by a licence (2 additional years), and a doctorate (at least one additional year plus a thesis). In the professional faculties candidates studied another three or four years to become doctors of law or medicine, engineers, or pharmacists.

The contents of the degree programs layed down in 1929 received incremental changes over the years, but any substantial alteration required the agreement of the four universities which was nearly impossible to achieve. Consequently, by 1960 these programs were recognized as needing a thoroughgoing renovation (Dubuisson 1968). However, this situation only typified the general predicament of Belgian universities. More than a decade of steady growth had led to the point that fundamental choices had to be made about expansion and financing of higher education; the preliminary signs of the structural incompatibility between the traditional university and mass higher education were also becoming manifest; finally, the movement for full Flemish equality in higher education, which many considered to be virtually complete, still required major institutional changes by the free universities. These sources

of contemporary conflicts in Belgian higher education will each be analysed in due course. First, however, it is necessary to complete this portrait by giving proper consideration to the practical and vocational side of Belgian higher education.

4. Higher Technical Education

Belgium was the first country on the European continent to undergo the industrial revolution, and industry and commerce remain to this day the life-blood of the nation. From a very early date institutions of higher education have had an important role supporting these activities. It is a question here of practical, vocationally oriented training outside of the liberal professions of law, medicine and the higher levels of teaching. Most traditional European universities have until quite recently disdained involvement in such mundane matters. But Belgian universities, in part because of the country's traditions and in part because of the earnest competition between the private universities, have readily accepted the role of providing advanced training in practical fields. However, they have not had this area to themselves. Various forms of higher technical training have been offered in schools supported by the state, localities and private sponsors. The result is a complex configuration of institutions with differing aspirations and constituencies. As such, they undoubtedly deserve study as an example of a successful and organic development of a type of higher vocational education that other countries have taken great pains to fabricate. The immediate goals of this study are perforce more limited. They are merely to depict in broad strokes the evolution and distribution of this kind of education, and to indicate its weight and relative influence in the total picture of Belgian higher education.

The law of 1835 that established the two state universities charged them

with specific responsibilities in the applied sciences. Engineering schools were created in each university, with Liège specializing in mining and Ghent in civil engineering. Louvain established its engineering schools in 1864, and Brussels followed in 1873 with an Ecole polytechnique that offered degrees in chemical, metalurgical, mechanical, mining and civil engineering. All of these schools eventually became full faculties of their universities (1893 in the case of Liège), and presently bear the title of faculties of applied sciences. The University of Louvain, although easily the most conservative of the Belgian universities, nevertheless has been quite receptive to forms of vocational education that would be dismissed as entirely unacademic elsewhere. In the 1870s they established a school of agriculture, and in the 1890s a higher school of brewing was appended to it. Commercial education, on the other hand, was adopted by all the Belgian universities. The state authorized legal degrees in this area in 1896, and schools of commerce were soon established within the faculties of law (except at Brussels). The Schools of Commerce were intended both for those expecting to become merchants or manufacturers, and those aspiring to become consuls. The latter, however, spent one year earning a "higher licence of commercial science" after they had received a full, four-year degree in law. A regular licence in commercial science was originally a two year program. The following figures reveal the surprising prominence of vocational forms of higher education in Belgian universities on the eve of the First World War: (see Table I).

TABLE I: Distribution of Belgian University Students, 1913-14

	Ghent	Liège	Brussels	Louvain
Total	1315	2884	1435	2563
Faculty of Letters	105	170	208	417
Faculty of Sciences	108	1175*	296	370
Faculty of Medicine	156	260	301	647
Faculty of Law w/o Commerce	132	169	281	545
Other				96
Total academic/ professional	501	1774*	1086	2075
School of Engineering	749	789*	266	449
School of Commerce	65	321	83	135
School of Agriculture				221
Total Vocational	814	1110*	349	805
% Vocational	62%	38%*	24%	31%
Foreign Students	365	1533	275	332
% Foreign	28%	53%	19%	13%

* See explanation below.

Source: Rapport Triennal, 1911-13.

To properly interpret these figures it is necessary to add that engineering students at Liège enrolled in the Faculty of Sciences for their first two years. Thus, 900 to 1000 of the 1175 students there were probably aspiring engineers. Knowing this, an interesting pattern emerges: about 2/3 of the students at the state universities were enrolled in vocational courses, while less than 1/3 of the students in the private universities were similarly enrolled. This result is largely due to the enormous influx of foreigners, particularly to Liège. They were overwhelmingly from the Russian Empire, and were specifically attracted by the Technical Faculty. Given the warping effect of these foreign enrollments, fully half of the university population in 1914 was studying engineering, business or other practical fields. The

proportionate weight of these studies never attained this magnitude again. The enrollment figures for 1924 show a similar distribution for every university except Liège, which no longer had its Russian contingent (Rapport triennal, 1922-24). At Ghent engineering students continued to outnumber the other four faculties combined. The proportion of engineering students declined after this date throughout Belgium.

Outside of the universities a great variety of institutions existed offering higher technical education. Two distinct types are discernable: first, a limited number of schools of rather long standing which offered degrees such as Engineer and Licence that are on the same level as those conferred by the universities; and then there were a host of higher technical schools offering programs of two to five years leading to diplomas of "Engineer-technician" or "Graduate." The oldest institution in the former group (excepting the Military College) is the Ecole Polytechnique de Mons which was established at the same time as the engineering schools in the state universities (1836). The State Agronomy Institute at Gembloux dates from 1860, and a parallel Flemish school opened its doors in Ghent in 1920 (Landbouwhoogeschool van den Staat te Gent). In 1934 the government elevated their programs to five years, leading to full engineering degrees. When the state school of commerce was created in Antwerp in 1852 it was the first institution of this type in Europe. This kind of instruction was not expanded until the turn of the century, when four independent schools of commerce were founded in addition to those established in the universities. The original programs of these schools led to a candidates degree after one year, and a licence after another year of study. In 1934 the length of study was made virtually equivalent to other university degrees, with each stage requiring two years of work. Admissions to these schools, as well as to their counterparts in the universities, has generally been less stringent than

admission into the four traditional faculties. In fact, this type of education seems to have grown considerably after the law of 1890 which required a certificat d'humanités to enroll in the faculties. In general, a prospective student has to satisfy an admissions committee of his aptitude for the school either on the basis of his previous schooling or quite often by passing a special examination. The engineering schools (or faculties of applied sciences) have always required entrance examinations, and thereby seem to have guaranteed themselves good students who are highly valued by industry. In 1970 these schools enrolled 5834 students, or 8% of university level students. Added to their counterparts within universities, students of engineering, business and agriculture comprise almost a quarter of what is officially defined as the university population.

The non-university sector of higher technical education includes a great variety of institutions and programs. The Ecole Supérieure des Textiles at Verviers (f. 1894), for example, is a highly specialized school designed to produce engineer-technicians for that city's chief industry. On the other hand, the Université du Travail of Charleroi and a number of schools modeled upon it are comprehensive technical schools which offer both halves of secondary education (ages 12 to 15, and 15 to 18), plus post-secondary training to the degree of engineer-technician (Mallinson 1963, pp. 196-201). Today the various forms of higher technical training correspond to all sectors of the Belgian economy, with recent growth being especially notable in social and paramedical services. In 1970 38% of the post-secondary students in Belgium were enrolled in higher technical schools. However, even this rather large proportion underrepresents the true weight of this sector, both because degree programs are shorter there and because it has recently expanded more rapidly than the universities. In the same year 18,000 new students entered the various higher technical schools, while some 17,000 new entrants enrolled in the university

sector (Annuaire 1969-70). This is almost certainly indicative of a healthy articulation of post-secondary education and the labor markets. In France, by way of contrast, where graduate unemployment has been a growing problem in the 1970s, only 20% of new entrants choose short-cycle technical courses.

PART II: THE CRISIS YEARS OF BELGIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

The 1960s were a period of sustained conflict and controversy over higher education in Belgium. The unprecedented growth in the demand for higher education forced the country to consider a coherent strategy of expansion, as well as committing substantial financial resources to this effort. At the same time the linguistic antagonism, generated by the rather special conditions prevailing at Louvain, degenerated during the decade until the removal of the French University became the inescapable outcome. This pattern of fission was quickly imitated at the country's other bilingual educational institutions. Finally, the crisis of university governance that swept over European universities in the late '60s was felt in Belgium as well. Its result was an extensive restructuring of the administration of Belgian universities. Each of these issues was inherently contentious, and each was to a considerable extent intertwined with the others. However, the manner in which they were posed, fought out, and eventually resolved clearly delineates the distinct character of the Belgian system of higher education.

The fact that higher education became an object of social and political conflict during the 1960s cannot be regarded as a chance occurrence. Rather, it is far more likely that this conflict involved the fundamental functions of higher education in modern society. The first of these derives from the long established nexus between higher education and higher, more prestigious occupations. As universities since World War II have expanded both their rolls and their rôles, university credentials have become a more and more essential prerequisite for attaining middle-class status. This makes the university, in effect, the only portal for entering the meritocracy. As a consequence of this, the internal control of the university takes on a new importance. The criteria for success or failure within the university, which had traditionally been left to the professional competence of the professors, assume considerable

social importance when they determine the occupational chances of a significant proportion of an age cohort. Internal control of the university is also important for another fundamental social function--that of cultural legitimation. Non-instrumental knowledge that is deemed worthy of being taught at the university level constitutes, ipso facto, the common cultural coin of a nation's educated classes. The reluctance of European faculties to add new and different material to this hallowed university culture has until quite recently been notorious. Quite predictably, one of the ways insurgent social groups seek to legitimize their standing is to get their distinctive kinds of knowledge and points of view accepted as part of this university culture. Recently in the United States, for example, numerous campus conflicts have revolved around the claims of blacks or feminists for inclusion in the university culture. Throughout Europe during the last decade there have been determined efforts--often quite successful--by various groups of the Left to institutionalize Marxian and other radical perspectives within academic disciplines. The role of universities in cultural legitimation becomes a particularly crucial issue in places where two or more national cultures coexist, as they do in Belgium.

Historically, the first barrier that Flemings had to breach was gaining equality of access to higher education and the higher occupations. This minimum step was only reached in the 1930s when entirely Flemish degree programs were finally created. However, even as more of these programs became available, the role of the university in cultural legitimation grew in importance as an issue. In effect, where French and Flemish instruction were offered side by side the traditional predominance of French and its assumed cultural superiority were a continual denial of the theoretical equality between the linguistic regimes. Thus, a perceived condescension toward their language and culture was the source of a strong sentiment for complete separation in the Flemish university community.

If the cause of the university crisis in Belgium was partly due to forces acting upon all the universities of the West and partly due to Belgium's linguistic cleavage, the manner in which these problems were handled was determined by the country's unique configuration of institutions and by their relationship to the government. Although the Belgian universities were nearly autonomous in their internal affairs by the 1960s, they operated within a legal structure established by the state, and were nearly totally dependent upon the financial support of the state. This created a situation in which the universities had to be able to exert influence within the national government in order to protect or advance their most vital interests. Consequently, the most important form of competition between universities was precisely for advantages from the national government. Other forms of competition, such as for student enrollments or for academic prestige, naturally exist; but in fact each university has always had a rather implicit sphere of influence in these matters. Within the national government the more routine matters of the regulation and operation of the universities are handled by the Ministry of Education, but financial matters and significant structural changes are determined in Parliament. This means that conflicts must be resolved in the political arena, where each university is able to count on the backing of its regional or ideological friends. This arrangement has, somewhat paradoxically, produced a highly interdependent system of higher education. Any alteration of the status quo must be balanced by compensatory concessions all across the board. These are not easily arranged, and normally require protracted negotiations. The effects of this upon higher education policy are considerable. The government has little capacity for systematic planning, and in fact can rarely even take the initiative in proposing needed changes in the system. More often than not, events force the government to deal with situations that have already ballooned to crisis proportions. This was particularly the case

during the rapidly unfolding events of the 1960s.

1. The University Expansion Problem, 1960-65

Like most other Western countries, Belgium confronted an accelerating demand for university education in the 1960s. Whereas the annual growth rate in university enrollments during the previous decade had been a manageable 5%, in the 1960-65 period it shot up above the 10% level. A part of this increase was due to the larger cohorts born after the War, but the bulk of it--71%--resulted from the increasing social demand for university study (OECD 1974, p. 26). On the whole, this development was greeted enthusiastically in Belgium. A more highly trained work force, it was assumed, would enhance the modernization of the economic base of the country. It was also hoped that expanded access to the universities would overcome the inequality of opportunity that seemed to exist between different social groups (cf. Teheux 1964). To support these ends legislation was enacted in 1964 that opened the universities to graduates of all general secondary programs, instead of solely to holders of a certificat d'humanités.* As a control all university applicants were required to pass a "maturity" examination which, unlike exams like the French baccalauréat, was intended to determine the depth rather than the breadth of the student's knowledge. In practice the maturity exam proved to be scarcely any barrier at all, as approximately 95% of those examined passed in some fields. The effect of these changes upon university enrollments was perceptible, though not dramatic. The first year of its implementation (1965-66) saw an unusually large increment of growth (15%), and the rate of increase for the remainder of the decade remained strong.

The obvious problem facing the country during the early 1960s was how to

* Graduates of technical secondary programs were extended the same rights in the 1970s, but in fact few chose to pursue university study. See below, Part III, 1 (pp. 49-62).

accommodate the burgeoning university population. In essence they were faced with three competing alternatives: enlargement of existing institutions; geographical dispersion under the auspices of the existing universities; or geographical dispersion through the creation of entirely new universities. Enlargement was championed by the state universities, who argued that the ambiance of the old universities, their instructional resources and their faculty could not be duplicated in new settings. They also stressed the practical points that the existing universities were by no means saturated (in fact, all but Louvain appear rather small by contemporary standards),* and that Belgium was a compact country with an excellent transportation network (Demoulin 1967, pp. 15-18). Behind all these considerations, of course, lay the question of whether government funds would be committed primarily to the established state universities or diverted to other institutions. The National Science Policy Council, undoubtedly fearing a fragmentation of the country's scientific base, advocated a substantial expansion of the existing universities. In contrast, the Catholic University of Louvain, and later Brussels as well, was eager to establish satellite campuses in order to augment its size, its influence and its subsidy from the government. The two antithetical free universities, it is interesting to note, managed to subordinate their ideological differences to their institutional interests. In 1964 they negotiated a secret accord over their projected territorial expansion and the level of subsidies they expected to coax from the government (Dejean & Binnemans 1971, pp. 326-27). This produced a potent coalition that greatly influenced the forthcoming law, but there were other interests to accommodate as well.

* University enrollments in 1961 were as follows:

Liège	4965
Ghent	4496
Brussels	6651
Louvain	16951
	32843

Already in 1958 legislation had been proposed to establish a state university in the country's second largest city, Antwerp. Although this law failed, it was soon apparent that satisfaction in some form would have to be given to these aspirations: first, because this cause received the political backing of the Belgian socialists and important Flemish groups; and secondly, because the Belgian Constitution guaranteed freedom of education, which meant that private institutions could move in should the state allow this void to persist. This actually began to occur in 1959 when the Jesuit Institut Sant Ignatius began offering programs for candidates in philosophy and political science. A further complication appeared when Mons submitted a claim for a university of its own. If Flanders were given an additional university in Antwerp, Wallonia could hardly be denied equal treatment.

The "university expansion problem," as it was known, obviously involved complex currents and countercurrents of interests. Ghent and Louvain both coveted Antwerp, thus providing an issue over which clericals and anticlericals could divide; but local opinion in Antwerp seemed to demand the prestige of their own university, thereby dividing Flemish opinion further. The different forces were plunged into full battle by legislation proposed in 1962 that would have allowed all four universities to erect satellite campuses (Houben project). Although this proposal failed, it had two immediate consequences. First, two years of intense debate increasingly concentrated on a revised formula for financing the private universities as an integral part of the university expansion problem. Secondly, it became necessary in 1964 to form a new government on a basis that could resolve the deadlock over both university expansion and university finance. This is the essential background of the Janne Law of 1965 on university expansion.

The new legislation gave satisfaction to the demand for geographical dispersion by establishing "University Centers" offering first degree work at

Antwerp and Mons. In addition, existing Catholic schools in Antwerp, Namur and Mons were promoted to the university sector, which meant that they could grant more legal degrees and would receive additional government subsidies. Finally, the Flemish half of Louvain created an extension campus at Courtrai (Kortrijk), and Brussels received the approval to do the same in Nivelles. Nevertheless, it was the financial provisions of the Janne Law that were most significant, and they pointed toward considerable expansion of the four existing universities. The combined budgets of Ghent and Liège were kept as the base figure, but the subsidies to Louvain and Brussels were raised, respectively, to 91% and 61% of this figure. Another 35% of this base was distributed between several other private institutions, and state loans for capital expenditures were made available at a mere 1 1/4% interest. Thus, the direct subsidy to private institutions, which before 1960 had equaled only 67% of the state universities' budgets, now was raised to 187% of that figure. Moreover, the budgets of Ghent and Liège were scheduled to increase by 25%, 18% and 18% during 1966-68. All together this projected a doubling of the regular higher education budget of 1965 by 1968 (Dejean & Binnemans 1971, p. 510). This financial arrangement was only adopted as a temporary measure to overcome the immediate needs of the universities. By 1969 study commissions were to have established a permanent basis for expanding and supporting the nation's institutions of higher education.

In the event, not even the temporary projections could be sustained. The government reduced the increases in the base budgets of the state universities for 1967 and 1968 to 13% and 8% instead of the promised 18% (and thus also reduced the subsidies that were keyed to these budgets). Even with these cuts, Belgium had the highest growth rate in the unit costs of higher education for the decade of the sixties among OECD countries -- 10.4% per year (OECD 1974, p. 181). There is little doubt why Belgium achieved this distinction: the

Belgian method of resolving the conflicts which arise from its competing cultures and ideologies is inherently expensive. This fact would become painfully evident again in the crisis of 1968.

The Janne Law might best be labeled as the first stage of the resolution of the university expansion problem. Its primary result was a financial windfall for the private universities. The fact that Louvain and Brussels had so heavily tapped the National Treasury was particularly resented by the universities of the state. Protests, demonstrations and university strikes at Ghent and Liège during the 1964-65 academic year manifested their intense dissatisfaction, but to no avail ("L'expansion universitaire" 1965). The explanation for the success of the private universities probably lies in their cooperation during these negotiations. It should be understood that Louvain alone was in an extremely strong position. Not only could it derive political backing from Catholics, conservatives and Flemings, but for most of the post-War period Louvain enrolled as many students as the other three universities combined. Coupled with the political support of the Free University of Brussels, located among Liberals and in the capital region, the free universities potentially stood to benefit from a formidable political coalition. But money, ironically, did not bring them happiness. Just as their external relations seemed assured, they were both rent by the worst internal crises in their histories.

2. The Expulsion of the French from Louvain

The decade-long crisis at Louvain may superficially appear to be a parochial problem, yet it profoundly affected both national political alignments and the future development of Belgian higher education. At issue was the existence of a French community made up of students, faculty, administrative staff and support personnel of the University within the Flemish city of Leuven/Louvain. Flemish agitation against this situation began as early as

1961. The presence of French culture and French schools in Flanders, they argued, had caused "incalculable cultural damage":

> Those who ought to have constituted the Flemish elite have seen, generation after generation, their intellectual development impeded and deformed because the use of a foreign language was imposed upon them . . . . The would-be elite was thus deprived of true culture, and Flanders was deprived of a true elite. The people, separated by language from the intellectuals, were continually deprived of any cultural radiance . . . . French education has not only corrupted the language and the cultural life, it has additionally fermented discord between the social classes. It has allowed the comfortable classes to distinguish themselves from the people by making use of a foreign language. Consequently, French having become a sign of social superiority and Dutch a sign of social inferiority, a dangerous social and linguistic barrier has been created in the midst of the Flemish people (Dejean & Binnemans 1971, p. 313).

The Flemish case became all the more compelling in 1963, when a permanent linguistic frontier was enacted. According to this legislation all education in Flanders was to be exclusively in Dutch, however a specific exemption was included for the French community of Louvain. This privileged, anomolous status made them an even more glaring target for the increasingly intransigent Flemish protests.

If the Flemish offensive was based upon a concern for the cultural integrity of Flanders, the desire to maintain a unitary Catholic University of Louvain derived from an entirely different set of considerations. The special Catholic mission that the University had fulfilled since the nineteenth century coupled with its medieval heritage provided the basis for an organizational saga to which the Catholic Walloons were deeply attached. Any scheme to move the original French components of the University could not avoid severing them from these hallowed traditions, thereby altering the very character of the institution. The figures responsible for preserving and continuing the organizational saga of the University were the Bishops of Belgium. From the beginning of the crisis the principle behind all their actions was the preservation of the unity of the University. They were, however, willing

to make substantial concessions to the Flemish to maintain that principle. Most notably, separate administrations for each linguistic regime were created in 1962, thus making the two halves of the university virtually independent of one another. This did nothing to appease the fundamental demand of the Flemings, nor to dampen the inflamatory anti-Flemish stance of some of the French. The Bishops finally had to invoke religious discipline to prevent the situation at the University from deteriorating further. Besides the Bishops, the government also had a large stake in containing the Louvain controversy. Linguistic struggles always had the potential of cutting through the existing parties. In 1966 the governing coalition had agreed upon a moratorium on linguistic questions so as not to upset their majority. The same year an unwelcome proposal to outlaw French education in Louvain was nevertheless introduced. Full consideration of the proposal was narrowly defeated, but the problem ominously remained. By the beginning of 1968 a definite resolution could no longer be avoided.

The precipitating event was the unilateral announcement of an expansion plan by the French half of the university. This action was an apparent violation of the university constitution, and certainly an overt provocation of the Flemings, who closed their half of the university in protest. With the two linguistic communities in irreconcilable opposition neither the Bishops nor the government could hold the university together any longer. The Bishops found themselves in a torturous position. As Flemish opinion became more and more inflamed over this issue, the Church hierarchy found it increasingly difficult to maintain their own leadership while adhering to an overwhelmingly unpopular stand. Faced with these pressures they could no longer agree about the future of French Louvain (February 1968). Their position was compromised even further when the Bishop of Bruges publicly endorsed the Flemish cause. Meanwhile, the magnitude of the crisis forced the issue onto the agenda of

the reluctant government. However, given the degree of polarization in the country, there was little chance of conjuring up a conciliatory formula. On the 7th of February, being unable to formulate a policy that would satisfy the Flemings, the government of Van den Boeynants fell. It was not until the middle of June, following new elections, that a new government could be formed, its unequivocal basis being that the French would have to leave Louvain. Almost immediately the Bishops bowed to the inevitable, and began to prepare to transfer the French section of the University to a site near Ottignies. This resolved the political crisis, but not the uncertainties surrounding Belgian higher education. The decision to create "Louvain-la-Neuve" still had to be integrated into an overall government policy on the expansion and the financing of higher education. And, the situation was now further complicated by the eruption of the Belgian counterpart to the international student rebellion.

3. The Rebellion Against the Traditional University

On the 13th of May, 1968, students of the Free University of Brussels gathered in a spontaneous assembly to express their solidarity with the struggle of the Parisian students who were then barricaded in the Sorbonne. This event proved to be the opening bell of a purely Belgian contestation in which students challenged, and ultimately altered, the traditional governing structure of Belgian universities. Radical students in Brussels occupied part of the university from May 22 until July 10, and thereby induced the university to commit itself to an extensive restructuring. Demonstrations erupted sporadically across the other Belgian institutions of higher education during the next twelve months, and achieved similar results (Dejean & Binnemans 1971). Although the student uprisings in Belgium may appear rather tame in comparison to the experiences of her immediate neighbors, they

nevertheless mark an unmistakable turning point for the country's higher education. One of the striking features of this pattern is the discrepency between the trivial issues that occasion these manifestations and the far-reaching significance of their results. In Ghent, for example, the suppression of the presentation of rather weakly rationalized pornography led to a sack of the Rector's office and the closing of the University for a week (Dejean & Binnemans 1971, pp. 154-58). Obviously the problems facing Belgian universities extended beyond the parochial issues that first mobilized students. Specifically, any serious analysis of this question should focus on two further dimensions of this conflict that lay behind the circumstances that occasioned particular confrontations. On the one hand, there were fundamental structural sources of dissatisfaction that impinged upon students and other members of the university community, and on the other there was a mediating cultural milieu that conditioned both the themes in which these discontents were embodied and the actions taken to remedy them. Clearly distinguished, these two dimensions provide some guide for separating the vital from the adventitious in the often bizzare events of 1968-69.

The single underlying cause of the problems in Belgian higher education, as elsewhere in Western Europe, was the unprecedented growth in student enrollments during the 1960s. A university population of approximately 20 thousand in 1950 rose to just 30 thousand a decade later; but it then doubled during the next eight years (1960-68). This was clarly a case in which a quantitative change produced important qualitative differences in the situation of the professors, who for the most part governed the universities, and in the experience of the students who attended them.

A university professor has always been required to fill a multiplicity of roles, but a case can nevertheless be made that the growth of the universities tended to make several of these roles more demanding and time-consuming. At

the University of Liège, for example, there were 152 titular professors for 2333 students in 1935. In 1965 there were triple the number of students, but only 170 professors (Demoulin 1967, pp. 27-30). Although the student/teacher ratios were kept manageable through the addition of assistants, the burdens of the professors were nonetheless increased. Managing scientific research within his specialty, directing a corps of assistants, governing his faculty, and also educating a throng of students--all these were the professor's responsibility. And, it became apparent in 1968, each of these areas, save perhaps research, showed evidence of serious deficiencies. Faculty councils, made up exclusively of professors, were accused of acting in an unduly conservative and narrowly self-interested manner; the anomalous and dependent status of assistants provided that group with numerous grievances against their "bosses"; and the remoteness of the professors from the students produced a breakdown of the pedagogical relationship, especially during the initial years of study.

The consequences of the dysfunctions of the university of the professors fell most heavily upon the students. Upon entering the university they were immediately confronted by quite demanding academic standards; yet the professors, teaching in large lectures for the most part, were able to do little to help students to meet those expectations. The ineluctable result was an appalling rate of failure at the outset of university study. Liège, for example, in 1966-67 registered the following failure rates for its first year exams (<u>première candidature</u>):

Faculty of Philosophy and Letters	63%
Pre-Law	57%
Economics and Social Science	75%
Pharmacy	61%
Medicine	71%
Sciences	67%
Physical Education	74%
Applied Sciences	49%

(Dubuisson 1968)

This undoubtedly constituted a major source of student frustration, especially in the light of the growing social importance of university credentials. The remoteness of the professors from the students also had a more subtle psychological impact that was no less significant. A large proportion of students underwent no appreciable socialization into the values and customs of the academic milieu. They were consequently alienated as well as frustrated by the culture they were otherwise forced to imbibe. The effects of this were further reinforced by the general revulsion toward "bourgeois society" that engulfed the university generation during the late 1960s. Hostile to the norms of society at large and disdainful toward the values of academia, many of the students of 1968 could accept university education neither as an end in itself nor as a means of achieving membership in the bourgeoisie. However, the potential for anomy inherent in such a situation was partly overcome by recourse to various forms of anti-bourgeois counterculture. One of the principal ingredients of all these countercultures was an idealistic leftism which invoked any number of radical doctrines in empathy for the struggles of the Third World and/or the proletariat. Even though it may have been only a minority of students who reacted to their plight in such a manner, it was precisely this minority that set the tone and defined the issues in 1968.

Given the situation just described, it was entirely natural that the main thrusts of the student movement were aimed against the professorial dominance of the university and against the reigning university culture. In keeping with the prevailing ideological winds, protesters demanded that a democratic mode of university governance replace the traditional patriarchal, oligarchic rule of the professors. Although these demands were couched in terms of "dialogue" and "participation," the underlying issue was control of the university. The attack upon the university culture took more varied forms. There was an attempt to break out of the mold of established disciplines by demanding either

inter-disciplinary approaches or courses oriented toward "relevant" issues instead of basic knowledge. Visions of a new pedagogy were put forth in which the cours magistral would be replaced by intimate working groups and the system of examinations would be replaced by less traumatic methods of certifying time spent in the university. Although these efforts in many cases sought to remedy real grievances, they were nevertheless an effort to legitimate the inchoate student culture through its inclusion in the university: hence, the dream of a "critical university," set against bourgeois society, that would teach a "liberated" curriculum embodying the new culture.

In the actual events of 1968-69 the two strands of the student rebellion met with decidedly different fates. Except during the euphoria of the contestation student enthusiasm for a complete usurption of the university culture proved to be short-lived (Spitaels-Evrard 1972, pp. 149-57). Even though the style of university teaching was undoubtedly affected (Janne 1974), the radical program met with far less success in Belgian universities than in those of her immediate neighbors. The democratization of the university, on the other hand, was accepted with surprising readiness. At Brussels the "moderates" and the administration became committed to complete student participation well before the occupation by the radicals was ended. In addition, the administration quickly endorsed the demand that the French and Flemish components of the university be separated into independent institutions. At Louvain the process of devising a more democratic governing structure began shortly after the linguistic division was assured. On September 8, 1969 the University Council promulgated the details of a plan for the formation of a "Representative Assembly of the University Community" to formulate a new structure of university governance (Dejean & Binnemans 1971, pp. 233-73). In the state universities changes in the forms of governance required legislative action; however participation was conceded in principle and tacitly arranged

well before the legislature was able to actually grant it.

It is somewhat ironic that the venerable university of the professors capitulated so suddenly, especially before a principle of such dubious merit (Geiger 1978). But the democratization of the university was ordained as much by the failures of the past as by the spirit of the present. Its realization, however, did not actually solve any of the problems facing Belgian higher education. It would take more dialogues than the proponents of participation had ever imagined to rearrange the internal relations of the universities. But the major problems still devolved upon the state. Thus, in the aftermath of the student rebellion the problems facing Belgian higher education were more complex than ever,and the means of dealing with them perhaps more uncertain. It would take the next two years for the government to sort them out.

4. Constructing the New Order, 1969-71

The 1965 law on the expansion of higher education had been intended as a temporary measure that would fulfill the nation's immediate needs until permanent arrangements for expanding and funding the system could be planned. The next phase was to commence in 1969. When that year arrived, however, the government found itself in no position to plan the future development of its higher education; rather it was overwhelmed by the problems of the preceding years (Phillipart 1972). The scission of Louvain and of Brussels involved considerable extraordinary expenses that had to be negotiated and ultimately met by the state. The commitment to democratize university governance required that the legal structure of the state universities had to be completely revised. Solutions had to be found for the problems of long-term investments in higher education as well as a new formula for determining annual subsidies. And, claims were still being pressed for the geographical extension of higher

education. With the possible exception of the governance question, these were all issues which involved substantive conflicts of interests between institutions and between their associated political constituencies. Resolution of these problems consequently required typically Belgian political settlements at the highest levels. There is no reason to delve into the details of the requisite bargaining, but it will be evident that this decision-making process had important effects upon the resolution of these issues.

In the aftermath of the student rebellion of 1968 the Free University of Brussels (U.L.B.) had two momentous concerns hanging over its head. First was its intention to purchase and construct a new campus on the Plaine des Manoeuvres--a large, empty government property near its campus of practically incalculable worth. The university had undertaken a complicated campaign since 1966 to secure the rights to this property, and then could not come to terms with the government over a price (Dejean & Binnemans 1971, pp. 399-461). The events of 1968 then made a solution more imperative--and easier to arrange. The separation of the Vrije Universiteit te Brussel (V.U.B.) from the U.L.B. made additional space all the more necessary, while the need of the French University of Louvain (U.C.L.) to find a new campus created a situation in which the free universities could receive equal treatment. On 24 July 1969 a law was approved ceding the Plaine to the two Brussels universities for a price of 764 million francs, to be paid over forty years with 1 1/4% interest; the U.C.L. was granted an identical sum on identical terms to purchase a campus near Ottignies. Thus, by balancing advantages the private universities were once again able to achieve their ends.

The decision to divide the University of Brussels was, in contrast to the prolonged conflict at Louvain, abrupt and amicable. Interestingly enough, the motivation of the university authorities was much the same. Whereas Louvain felt that it had to remain united to preserve its organizational saga,

Brussels concluded that it could best defend its saga by remaining French. The University was 80% French at the time, as was the capital area it primarily served. The secular rationalism that defined its mission had historically found its audience largely among the French. Cutting the V.U.B. loose, then, freed the university from numerous linguistic distractions and allowed it to concentrate upon its original purpose. Nevertheless, it is also necessary to recognize another set of considerations, equally organizational, at work in this decision. Could the U.L.B. fail to imitate the scission of its larger, more powerful rival, without sacrificing some of its own prestige and influence? Probably not, especially since there were large sums of francs at stake. The government that was formed to resolve the Louvain crisis in 1968 had committed itself to investing 35 billion francs in the expansion of higher education over the next ten years. It was clear that a disproportionate share of this sum would be required to construct a new site for the U.C.L. (Dejean & Binnemans 1971, pp. 518-60). The parallel separation of the V.U.B. placed it in an unassailable position for demanding similar compensation, despite indignant protests by Ghent and Liège. The negotiations were long and difficult, but except for the final figures the outcome was never in doubt. In the eventual settlement the U.C.L. claimed more than 20% of the expansion funds (7.2 billion BF) for the construction and move to Louvain-la-Neuve; 10% of the total funds were promised for the creation of the V.U.B. on a portion of the Plaine des Manoeuvres.*

The creation of two additional universities through the division of the private universities posed the question once again of the geographical distribution of universities. Although the existing universities and the National Council for Science Policy (C.N.P.S.) still opposed more universities as

* Actual figures are constantly being readjusted to account for inflation. I would like to thank Mr. Jose Van de Vijvere for supplying this information.

wasteful, political promises made to Antwerp had to be redeemed (Verhoeven 1979). In 1969 political leaders agreed that a university should be established there. In order to give no undue advantage to Catholic or state institutions, it was decided that the new university would be "pluralist" by providing second-degree work for students from the state University Center and from the Sant Ignatius Faculty. If Antwerp received a university, however, Mons could not be denied. Its University Center was accordingly promoted to full university status. The same logic of equal treatment was invoked again in 1971, when a university center was pledged to the rapidly growing Flemish province of Limburg. To balance accounts the Walloon province of Luxembourg was granted a "university foundation" with the right to offer certain courses which, presumably, will eventually become a full university center. Belgium thus doubled the number of full-fledged universities and made a commitment for two new university centers in the space of three years. That the actual educational needs of the country were a remote consideration in most of these decisions only serves to underscore the futility of planning in a situation where important decisions are made on a political basis.

The means of transforming Belgian universities into democratic institutions was worked out with some difficulty during these years (Verhoeven 1979). In the private universities provisional councils were established in 1968 to fashion representative structures of university governance. Professors, assistants, students, administrative and technical personnel, and external representatives were all incorporated in varying proportions as participating groups--a principle that would be carried over to the permanent reforms. The U.L.B. was able to promulgate its reorganization by mid-1970, but negotiations at the Catholic universities were prolonged and more acrimonious. The state universities could do little on their own, being dependent upon legislative action to alter their structures. It took the legislatures until March of 1971

to wade through the conflicting demands of students, assistants and university authorities and pass a comprehensive reform. In the end the lawmakers took their cue from largely completed reforms of the private universities, and attempted to assure the state institutions a similar degree of self-government and internal democracy.

The general thrust of the new law was to allow the insurgent groups to participate at the highest level of university decision making, but to preserve the authority of the professors at the level of the faculties and below (departments or chairs) (Lewalle 1971; Verhoeven 1979). The Administrative Councils at Ghent and Liège which had formerly consisted exclusively of representatives of the professoriat were henceforth to be made up as follows:

The Rector and Vice-Rector
10 representatives of the teaching corps
4 representatives of the scientific personnel
2 representatives of the technical & administrative staff
4 students
3 representatives of society
3 representatives of the economy
3 representatives of the state and local government

The composition of the governing Councils of the other universities varied, although the groups participating were the same. Nevertheless, the influence of the professors remained preponderant in all Belgian universities, so that there was little risk of it being overwhelmed by student power. In the faculty councils a majority of professors was guaranteed. As a result, professorial authority has continued to be dominant in such areas as curriculum, evaluation, appointments and research--areas where decisions ought to rest primarily on professional expertise (Verhoeven 1979).

The final legislative act in the reordering of Belgian higher education was undoubtedly the most significant. The law of 27 July 1971 placed all university-level institutions on essentially the same financial footing. A government allocation based upon enrollemnts was established to cover all of

the universities' costs for teaching, administration, maintenance and normal research (allocation de fonctionnement). The per-student subsidy varies according to the faculty of study. In 1977, for example, it was 122,810 BF ($3,684) for each student in the humanities; 231,809 BF ($6,954) for students in the natural sciences; and 375,086 BF ($11,253) for medical students (Ancion 1978). This allocation constitutes the entire regular operating budget of the universities. They dispose of additional government funds through a separate capital budget, a budget for social services and diverse sources of targeted research funds. The only non-governmental sources of income are student fees and what is left of the formerly important university endowments. Together these comprise up to 2% of a typical university budget. However, the universities have no discretion over the employment of these funds, since for accounting purposes they are assigned to debt amortization.

For the free universities the attainment of financial parity with the state universities was an important achievement, especially considering the large enrollments of the K.U.L., U.C.L. and the U.L.B. The smaller university institutions also received an important concession when generous minimum funding levels for faculties were included in the law. The state universities might appear to be the losers under these new arrangements, but provisions were included to guarantee them against any possible decreases in their levels of funding or staffing that might be indicated by the new formulae. The 1971 Finance Law, then, contained something for each category of institution; and that could only mean a substantial bill for Belgian taxpayers. From 1970 to 1972 just the basic allocations to university institutions increased 51%. Even if two-thirds of that increase is ascribed to inflation and growing enrollments, that still leaves a substantial 17% increase in real, per-student costs (C.N.P.S. 1976, pp. 104-05).

The state, not surprisingly, felt that these entitlements to public funds

ought to be accompanied by stricter controls, especially in the free institutions. It consequently specified that government commissioners ("delegates" in the free institutions) would oversee the operations of all university institutions. Assigned by the Ministers of Education, each commissioner must see that the actions of every university body (Administrative Council, Permanent Bureau, Faculty Councils) conform to the laws and regulations governing higher education, and will not endanger the financial integrity of the institution. To accomplish this he has the right to participate in the deliberations of each of these bodies, and to veto any of their decisions that he finds inconsistent with these requirements. Such vetoes may be appealed to the Minister, and if need be to the courts; but once a final decision has been made the university is bound to accept it. To assure financial supervision the commissioner must approve all university expenditures over 50,000 BF. He is also assisted by a financial inspector (designated by the Ministry of Finance) who shares his authority where budgetary matters are concerned. It has become a practice to appoint commissioners with the same outlook as the university they are monitoring, but financial inspectors are chosen so that they have different persuasions from their institutions. From the outset the commissioners have been active agents of the government's will. There is a great deal of ambiguity in interpreting the application of statutes and regulations. The commissioners, as creatures of the Ministry within the universities, have been vigilant in insisting that the government's intentions are fulfilled.

The University Finance and Control Law of 1971 has decreed a considerable bureaucratic standardization in Belgian universities. The state institutions are still more directly dependent upon Ministerial approval for routine matters, such as appointments or curricular changes, and are consequently much less autonomous than they would like to be. But, in the basis of their funding and in their administrative and financial accountability both state

and free universities now stand in the same relationship to the state. This is one of the key elements in what could be called the "new regime" in Belgian higher education. Other elements would be the new university map and the establishment of some degree of participation in university governance. The new regime was rather hastily erected during three turbulent years (mid-1968-mid-1971). These measures consequently had the character of quick solutions to pressing problems rather than being the result of conscious, long-range planning. The new regime has nevertheless been in operation for seven years (as of this writing) without requiring fundamental alteration. There has consequently been sufficient time to make at least a preliminary assessment about its suitability for the needs of contemporary Belgium.

PART III: THE NEW REGIME AND THE CHALLENGE OF THE 1970s

Compared to many of its European neighbors Belgium emerged from the traumas of the late 1960s with its higher education in relatively good order. The radicalization that so deeply affected some European universities was no more than a superficial and transient episode at Belgian institutions which, in any case, had always been polarized according to the country's linguistic and ideological cleavages. Although students achieved a voice in university governance, the professors' dominance over academic matters was never eroded. Largely as a result of this, the universities were able to maintain high academic standards. And although the organizational changes in Belgian higher education were important and far-reaching, the essential teaching and research missions of the universities never suffered the destabilizing effects of rapid, externally mandated change. Thus, a decade after the world-wide eruption of student protest and nearly two decades since the beginning of the great wave of student enrollments, one can still perceive in Belgian universities many of the essential features that had formerly characterized elite higher education in Europe (cf. Geiger 1978).

The relative stability of Belgian universities during the tumult of the late 60s, however, has not sheltered them in the least from the general problems besetting Western higher education during the mid-70s. University expansion was undertaken in the expectation that enrollments would continue to grow at something like their previous pace. But, no sooner was the new regime in place, than the enrollment curve became flat. Belgian university education as a whole thus unexpectedly entered a steady-state or no-growth situation. Individual institutions were obviously affected differently, but this general condition invariably exacerbated other, virtually inevitable problems. The natural rhythms of university careers were originally distorted by the large influx of young faculty during the period of expansion. Once

they were permanently in place little room remained for the next generation of academics then finishing their training. No-growth in enrollments also meant no-growth in government allocations, but here too the final result, in this case budget tightening, was inherent to the universities' situation. Just as the government was forced to reneg on the largesse promised in the Janne Law (1965), so it began scaling down the terms of the 1971 Finance Law almost as soon as it had been passed. Although the actual reductions have sofar been minor, they have been sufficient to cast the pall of austerity over Belgian campuses. So, what appeared to be generous financial arrangements in the 1971 law have quickly become financial constraints. However, the most resented constraints upon universities under the new regime are bureaucratic, the product of the attempt to extend governmental oversight and control. The difficulty here is not so much the controls instituted by the 1971 law, but the failure of the universities and the Ministries of Education to agree upon the nature of their relationship. Lacking such understanding, governmental controls become more onerous and university recalcitrance appears more irresponsible. The resulting deadlock threatens the universities with administrative paralysis. Until this relationship is clarified, Belgian higher education will have little capacity to adapt to the changing needs of Belgian society.

1. The End of Expansion

As late as 1971 anyone examining Belgian university enrollment patterns could have confidently predicted substantial future growth. In the previous four years (1967-71) total university enrollments had risen 39% for an average annual rate of increase near 9% (see Table 2). The size of the 18 year old cohorts could be counted upon to increase until 1983, and the number of those who would qualify for university study by passing their maturité exam would

Table 2: University Enrol

	A. Total Enrollments			
	1967-68	% change 1967-1971	1971-72	% 1
1. Rijksuniversiteit te Gent	8666	41	12188	
2. Université de l'Etat à Liège	7029	35	9489	
3. Université Catholique de Louvain	10990	31	14441	
4. Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven	11763	33	15686	
5. Université Libre de Bruxelles	8147	43	11642	
6. Vrije Universiteit Brussel	1231	182	3472	
7. Université de l'Etat à Mons	748	49	1115	
8. Universitaire Instelling Antwerpen			2	
9. Rijksuniversitair Centrum te Antwerpen	1932	1	1947	
10. Universitaire Faculteiten Sint-Ignatius te Antwerpen	1593	47	2346	
11. Faculté Polytechnique de Mons	501	0	500	
12. Faculté des Sciences Agronomiques de l'Etat à Gembloux	390	8	422	
13. Facultés Universitaires Notre-Dame de la Paix à Namur	1233	51	1866	
14. Faculté Universitaire Catholique de Mons	442	17	517	
15. Facultés Universitaires Saint-Louis à Bruxelles	606	9	663	
16. Universitaire Faculteiten Sint-Aloysius te Brussel		--	203	
17. Universitair-Centrum Limburg		--		
18. Faculté de Theologie Protestante à Bruxelles	47	83	86	
19. Ecole Royale Militaire à Bruxelles	166	181	467	
Total	55484	39	77052	

iversity Enrollments by Institution

ents				B. New, First-year Enrollments			C. % of 1975 first year class from immediate province
e 71	1971-72	% change 1971-75	1975-76	1971-72	1973-74	1975-76	
	12188	- 6	11432	2930	2790	2637	54%
	9489	- 6	8918	2346	2044	1770	76%
	14441	6	15275	2538	2384	2331	51%
	15686	16	18250	3500	3620	3975	28%
	11642	6	12287	2757	2418	2549	71%
	3472	18	4082	778	862	853	52%
	1115	10	1228	323	292	384	91%
	2		1150	n.a.	n.a.		
	1947	-19	1581	755	556	531	92%
	2346	2	2386	970	996	973	76%
	500	17	587	106	111	124	91%
	422	18	499	98	110	172	18%
	1866	41	2622	850	1049	1106	29%
	517	12	579	105	101	102	81%
	663	19	789	410	360	373	87%
	203	81	365	94	192	164	76%
			669		276	318	82%
	86	1	87	23	11	21	
	467	12	524	118	117	180	
	77052	8	83360	18701	18299	18538	

be growing by some 4% per year. The proportion of this category who actually enrolled in university institutions the succeeding fall had remained constant at about 60% since the establishment of this exam. So, the continued growth of Belgian universities seemed assured. By the 1975-76 academic year one might have predicted, through simple extrapolation, an entering university class of at least 22,000; and, given a 5% rate of growth, a total university population of perhaps 95,000 students. But, in reality the results were much different. The incoming class for 1975 was only 18,538--exactly equal to the previous year and slightly below that of 1971; and total university enrollments had grown to just 83,360. Since 1971, then, university enrollments have grown by a mere 2% per year, while the size of the incoming classes have remained virtually constant. This situation raises two causes for concern. Because the distribution of students across institutions has not remained the same, several universities face the immediate difficulties of actual enrollment decline. However, in the long run all university institutions must face the fact that the wellspring of university growth now appears to have dried up.

Considering the immediate problem first, the figures in Table 2A reveal that three state institutions, the universities of Ghent and Liège, and the State University Center at Antwerp, have experienced actual decline in their student populations. Among the institutions that were able to sustain a significant rate of growth since 1971 the most notable are the Catholic University of Leuven, already Belgium's largest, and the University Faculties of Notre Dame de la Paix at Namur. It is interesting to note that the institutions losing students are the most localized in terms of recruitment areas (Table 2C). The R.U.C. Antwerp had the highest percentage of entering students from the surrounding province, (92%); and 76% of the class were from the Antwerp area itself. For large and venerable universities, Ghent and

Liège are quite localized. 76% of the students at Liège are from the province, and 77% of those in Liège Province attending universities choose the University of Liège. The catchment area for Ghent includes both East and West Flanders, and provides 82% of the university's students. These figures are in stark contrast with the growing institutions in Leuven and Namur which draw less than 30% of their students from their immediate provinces. This suggests a pattern which would also be consistent with the other data on enrollments: geographical proximity is clearly the most important factor determining where a student might enroll, however, beyond that the Catholic institutions seem to have developed more deeply rooted loyalties through family traditions and the influence of Catholic secondary schools. They have consequently maintained enrollments much better than state institutions with only localized attraction.

It is necessary to bear this pattern in mind when considering the larger question of the over-expansion of Belgian universities. While there can be little doubt that the previous enthusiasm for expanding facilities, in combination with the unforseeable stagnation in enrollments, has produced the current excess capacity in Belgian universities; but it is more difficult to argue that Belgium suffers from having too many universities. The number of institutions of higher learning a country needs is a relative thing. Given the Belgian preference for moderate size institutions and local availability the current distribution does not seem unreasonable, even though the cost is high. Another factor to consider is whether new institutions are draining students from established ones. The localized enrollment patterns for Liège and the R.U.C. Antwerp would indicate that this was not the case. Their shrinking entering classes are no doubt due to limited local supplies of secondary school graduates. Ghent could make a better case that it has been hurt by new competitors. The K.U.L., with a branch at Kortrijk, attracts more students

from West-Flanders than Ghent, and the establishment of second-cycle classes at the Antwerp University Institution undoubtedly retains some students that would have otherwise gone to Ghent. However, both these institutions have their own justification. Antwerp now has enough first-cycle students to warrant the existence of the U.I. Antwerp, and even fifty years ago the pious West-Flemish sent a majority of their students to Louvain. (Rapport Triennale 1922-24). The latter situation suggests that strong historical patterns of university attendance tend to persist despite the existence of more convenient alternatives. The disappointing performance of the State University at Mons corroborates this. The industrialized province of Hainaut seemed to deserve its own university, but once established it did not grow as expected. Instead, barely a quarter of the Hainaut students attend the three institutions in Mons, while almost half go north to Louvain-la-Neuve and the U.L.B.

The state institutions, then, have suffered most from the recent enrollment stagnation, and consequently now find themselves underpopulated with students and considerably overstaffed. And, this situation is unlikely to improve in the near future. For reasons that will be examined later, they have little capacity to undertake either serious retrenchment or expanded recruitment. However, what may be more ominous from their point of view, underlying enrollment trends show no sign of reversing the current stagnation.

It is clear that since 1971 fewer of those eligible to attend universities have chosen to do so. Table 3 was constructed to determine how the transfer ratios were changing according to sex and linguistic regime. For the Flemish half of the country the results were unambiguous: the transfer rate of women remained stable since 1971, while the men's rate showed a slow and steady decline. For French schools, however, the rate varied erratically, showing a sharp decline and rise, and then another sharp decline. But, if one examines the actual first-year enrollments, they show remarkable stability; and this

Table 3 Transfer rates to University Study by Sex and Linguistic Regime

Secondary School Year		French		Flemish		Total	University School Year
		Male	Female	Male	Female		
1969-70	a	5632	4808	8414	5551	24405	
	b	5694	3016	5898	2755	17363	1970-71
	c	4538	2644	5631	2664	15477	
	d	.81	.55	.67	.48	.63	
	e					.106	
1970-71	a	6606	5440	9135	6595	27776	
	b	6095	3522	6252	2832	18701	1971-72
	c*	4694	3049	6902	2714	16359	
	d	.71	.56	.65	.41	.59	
	e					.112	
1971-72	a	7339	6352	9522	6883	30096	
	b	5871	3278	6185	3188	18522	1972-73
	c	4514	2864	5846	3084	16308	
	d	.62	.45	.61	.45	.54	
	e					.109	
1972-73	a	6530	5708	9951	7678	29867	
	b	5485	3443	6153	3218	18299	1973-74
	c	4434	3007	5870	3100	16411	
	d	.68	.53	.59	.40	.55	
	e					.109	
1973-74	a	5901	5009	10514	7773	29197	
	b	5447	3378	6364	3349	18538	1974-75
	c	4396	2986	6062	3215	16659	
	d	.74	.60	.58	.41	.57	
	e					.109	
1974-75	a	7433	7313	10467	8107	33320	
	b	5516	3458	6161	3403	18538	1975-76
	c	4328	2981	5955	3312	16576	
	d	.58	.41	.57	.41	.50	
	e					.107	

a Diplomas of eligibility for university study (maturité)
b entering first-year university students
c entering Belgian first-year university students
d transfer ratio (c/a)
e ratio of entering Belgian first-year students to total 18 year olds

* estimated

SOURCES: a,b & c are taken or derived from statistics of the Fondation Universitaire, Bureau de Statistiques. 18 year-old cohorts in (e) are from Bevolkings Statistieken, National Instituut voor de Statistiek, België.

is true for both linguistic regimes. Fluctuations in the transfer ratio, then, only reflect variations in the number of maturité diplomas awarded. Through 1971 three of every five of those who received their diploma proceeded to university study, so that more diplomas meant a larger entering class that fall. After 1971 that relationship ceased to hold, and instead the absolute numbers of new university students remained virtually constant. A breakdown of these figures shows that Flemish women, with the lowest transfer ratio, steadily increased their absolute participation, while Walloon males, with the highest transfer ratio, slowly decreased their numbers. Flemish males and Walloon females essentially maintained their 1971 levels through 1975. Consequently the question that must be addressed is, why have new university enrollments become mired at this particular level?

The conventional wisdom in Belgium has linked enrollment stagnation with the surplus of graduates on the labor market and the saturation of traditional graduate career lines. There is certainly circumstantial evidence for this view. From 1968 to 1972 the number of advanced degrees awarded by Belgian universities increased by more than 12% per year, climaxed by a thumping 17% jump in 1972. This brought the annual total to roughly double what it had been from 1962 to 1966. No doubt some of the graduates of the '70s have experienced difficulty finding appropriate work (Geens 1976). Actual figures on unemployment show university graduates to be in a better position than others; however this is beside the point. Consciousness that employment opportunities for university graduates have deteriorated is widespread and firmly rooted. The fact that enrollments in non-university technical higher education climbed sharply beginning in 1972 might also be interpreted as a reaction in favor of more marketable credentials.

There are nevertheless several factors that would caution against too heavy a reliance upon a solely economic explanation of enrollment stagnation.

International comparisons make it quite evident that the number of university graduates which can be accommodated in national labor markets is highly elastic. Belgium, with only 11% of its 18 year olds entering universities, and an even lower percentage graduating from them, has decidedly fewer university graduates to employ than most other advanced industrialized nations. From an individual perspective, a university degree in the Belgian binary system of higher education represents a significantly higher level of achievement than non-university credentials. A university education would consequently be more advantagious in the long run than other forms of training for anyone capable of attaining one. It seems highly likely, then, that something more than a discouraging graduate labor market is restraining individual Belgians from attending universities in large numbers.

The factor that immediately comes to mind is the sheer difficulty of university studies. The hard reality of university life in Belgium is that only about half the entering students successfully complete their first year of work (e.g. Bonte 1976). Potential students are not only aware of this, they also undoubtedly have a reasonable estimate of which half they would probably find themselves in following the first year's examinations. It is consequently more than likely that many secondary school graduates forego university study because they perceive their chances of success to be small. The whole issue of the difficulty of university work is complex, and certainly transcends the immediate problem of enrollment stagnation. It is worthwhile considering in some detail, however, because it penetrates to the essential nature of the Belgian university.

The course of study in most Belgian faculties is divided into four single-year units. The first two years (first and second candidature) lead to a Candidate's Degree and the next two years of more specialized study culminate in a Licence--normally the terminal degree for university study

(law, pharmacy, applied sciences and medicine require more than four years). Evaluation of the year's work occurs by means of final examinations held in June and July. Students who are not successful in this first session have an additional chance to take all or part of their exams again in a second session in September. The examinations are conducted orally by each professor over the material in his course, but a faculty committee ultimately decides if a student passes or fails for the year. Each student is discussed individually, although the final decision usually follows the numerical average of the student's results (12/20 most commonly being considered the threshold for passing). The most formidable aspect of this system is that students who fail must repeat the entire year's work.

The first candidature stands as the foremost hurdle to earning a university degree. Students who demonstrate the ability to cross this barrier stand an excellent chance of eventually graduating. In Flemish university institutions during the 1974-75 academic year, for example, 50% of the first candidature students were successful (Bonte 1976). The passing rates for the years of the licence are generally above 90%. Success rates vary widely in any given year across faculties and institutions. Students in applied sciences, who have already passed a demanding entrance exam, are generally most successful, while those in law, math and natural sciences are marginally more prone to failure.

Evidence about the consequences of failure in the first candidature is rather scarce, but what exists is probably representative. A longitudinal study of the U.C.L. entering class of 1967 showed that a 42% failure rate (unusually low) resulted in only 16% of the class leaving the university. Some 26% repeated the first candidature in either the same or a different subject (Beguin 1976). It is also worth noting that 34% of this class graduated on time, and another 18% after a delay of one year. At this rate

it is doubtful if the final graduation rate will surpass the initial success rate of 58% on the first candidature. A more recent inquiry conducted by the K.U.L. Universtair Studiebureau found that 52% of the first candidature students failed their examinations, and that this led 29% of them to leave the university. Follow-ups on these drop-outs revealed that two-thirds of them proceeded to non-university higher education where they were generally quite successful.* It would appear likely in this case as well that the number of students who manage through perseverence to get past the first candidature would probably be roughly equal to the number of original passers who fall by the wayside during the second, third and fourth years. If this is true, one could generalize that the number of eventual graduates in each entering generation is likely to approach, but not surpass the number who pass their first candidature in their first year. This would only serve to emphasize that the output of the Belgian universities, as presently constituted, largely depends upon the first year of study.

The prevailing opinion among Belgian professors seems to be that the rigors of the first candidature are necessary to select out those who are incapable of university-level work. This attitude is not dissimilar to that which prevailed on some American campuses before, say, 1968. A number of introductory courses, particularly in state universities and colleges, were then considered to be "weeders" that removed the undesirables. The relative stability of the Belgian failure rates on the first candidature over recent decades is testimony of the persistence of a professorial definition of what constitutes "university-level work." This in itself is an indication that the student rebellions of 1968-69 did not shake professorial control over

---

* I would like to thank Mr. G. Monnard and Mrs. J. Schellingen-Houben of the K.U.L. Universitair Studiebureau for supplying me with the results of this inquiry conducted by Mr. F. Bellefroid.

academic matters in Belgium. However, even given these demanding standards, the difficulty of the first candidature can still be directly linked with certain features of the Belgian curriculum, pedagogy and examinations.

The most formidable aspect of the curriculum is its sheer size. First year students typically must follow ten or more academic courses, plus labs and recitations, and in some cases a foreign language.* In the second candidature the programs specify even more academic courses. Since in the first candidature the courses are less specialized and the students are most numerous, nearly all of the classes are taught in large lectures. Students consequently have virtually no direct contact with their professors. They furthermore lack any means of judging their progress during the year and their likely performance on the final examinations. All of these factors produce a cumulative disadvantage at the year's end, when students must organize and master some 300 course-weeks of work with sufficient facility to pass the oral interrogations of their professors.

Those who are most disadvantaged are students who are slow to adapt to the demands of university study, or those whose uncertain motivation may have flagged during the year. The most likely to succeed are the students who arrive at the university with the strong verbal or mathematical skills that this system requires from the outset. In the longitudinal study just mentioned, for example, successful university study correlated most strongly with achievement in secondary schools (Beguin 1976). The requisite academic skills are most readily acquired in the most rigorous and competitive secondary programs. The rates of success in the first candidatures consequently vary widely for different programs (Table 4). A student who hopes to one day

---

* This description is intended only to highlight certain general features of the first candidature. It obviously cannot encompass the special features of individual programs, nor the limited measures that some faculties are taking to alleviate these problems.

succeed at the university is consequently well advised to take one of the Latin secondary programs, or at the very least "Scientific A." But here the same problem of high standards is replicated once again: only a limited number of students appear able to master these difficult programs. From 1969 to 1975, for example, the number of general secondary school graduates in the less demanding programs ("Scientific B," Commercial and Human, Sc.) increased by more than 50%, while the output of the stronger programs remained stationary (Table 5). So, the considerable growth in secondary school graduates actually produced comparatively few additional university students.

In the light of these considerations it would seem that the level of Belgian university enrollments is most immediately dependent upon two factors: first, the number of potential students who acquire the requisite academic skills, and secondly the degree of difficulty of university work. Given current conditions, then, the effects of fluctuations in the demand for university graduates would be considerably muted. Because of the unchallenged superiority of university study over other forms of training one can assume that the most qualified students will attend regardless. Economic factors would consequently affect the behavior of marginal students with weaker preparation and higher likelihood of failure. After the hecatomb of the first candidature their impact upon enrollments would be greatly reduced. Enrollment growth would only be likely to replace the present stagnation if (1) changes in Belgian society and/or the education system were to raise the general level of academic preparation among secondary school graduates; or in the absence of such changes if (2) university study were made less difficult. The first of these variables, resting as it does upon familial attitudes toward education and ingrained traditions in the school system, obviously would not be easily changed. The second variable would nevertheless appear to be more tractable. There are a number of measures which might be taken to

TABLE 4: Success in First Candidature by Secondary School Program (Rijksuniversiteit Gent, 1974-75)

University average pass rate: index = 100

Latin-Math	142
Latin-Science	115
Latin-Greek	111
Math-Modern Languages (A)	100
Science-Modern Languages (B)	83
Commercial	53
Human Sciences	36
Average for General Secondary Programs	102
Average for Technical Secondary Programs	55

Source: A. Bonte, 1976

* * * * * * *

TABLE 5: Secondary School Graduates by Program: 1969 & 1975

	1969		1975	
Latin-Greek	7611	16,552	4287	16,555
Latin-Math	2310		3031	
Latin-Science	2768		4427	
Math-Modern Languages (A)	3863		4810	
Science-Modern Languages (B)	4877	11,747	7662	18,996
Commercial	6870		7892	
Human Sciences	----		2487	
Renovated General Secondary	____		955	
Total General Secondary	28293		35551	
Total Technical Secondary	21046		18226	

Source: Annuaire Statistique de l'Enseignement, XIV (1969-70), Bureau de Statistiques Universitaires, Rapport Annuel, 1976.

make the first candidature less severe without diluting its quality. An increase or reallocation of professorial labor could allow smaller classes, more personal work and continuous assessment.* Several structural changes have been debated that would improve the survival rate, and thus encourage a higher transfer rate. These include the creation of a semester or year of preparatory work (propédeutique) to bridge the gap between secondary and university-level work, and the adoption of a course-credit system of certification. Beyond these tactical possibilities, however, lies a more fundamental strategic question: should the Belgian government encourage an expansion of university enrollments under current conditions? We shall reserve this many-sided issue for the conclusion of this study.

This discussion of the rigors of Belgian university life reveals that the universities have made few compromises to "mass" higher education. Even though the universities are theoretically open to all secondary school graduates who pass the maturité, the universiites in fact offer a highly academic and specialized education that is attainable for comparatively few. Eleven per cent of the eighteen year olds attempt university study; approximately half of them manage to graduate. The burden of providing higher education for the "masses" has thus been diverted to the non-university sector. Thus, the Belgian transition from "elite" to "mass" higher education has been one of the most conservative of advanced industrialized nations. And, this in itself does much to explain why university growth came so abruptly to a halt.

2. Upgrading Technical Higher Education

While university enrollments have stagnated in recent years the number of students in non-university technical higher education has continued to grow at a rate of about 8% per year for the last decade. Although it might

* Due to the rigidities of the current regime, any reallocation of labor would almost certainly require a change in the 1971 law. See below III, 3 (pp. 67-75).

superficially appear that the technical schools were gaining in popularity at the expense of the universities (cf. Geens 1976), in fact both types of education are interdependent. The rigorous academic standards of the universities actually compell the higher technical schools to absorb most of the expanding social demand for advanced instruction and marketable credentials. These schools are consequently most likely to receive the secondary school graduates from the non-academic programs or those who have dropped out of the university. There such students can expect to find courses with less theoretical content and a decided emphasis on practical applications. Many of the programs are furthermore designed to provide direct experience in the workplace. This type of curriculum consequently finds favor with large numbers of students who have difficulty relating to the abstract content of purely academic programs.

The higher technical schools form the largest segment of the non-university sector, but as Table 6 indicates, there are other types of education there as well. Teacher training was formerly divided between that for primary schools, which was given on the secondary level, and that for the middle schools (ages 12-15), which took place in special post-secondary normal schools. Since 1972 both these functions have been largely integrated in the normal schools (Van de Vijvere 1977). During the early and middle 1960s, when the demand for teachers was high, more students were receiving pedagogical training than were to be found in the higher technical schools. However, the declining demand for teachers in the 1970s has brought about a considerable drop in this total. Besides the normal schools the non-university sector also contains several four-year translation schools and schools of commercial studies which were legally defined as having university-level status before 1971. Although they now have been demoted, their exact status was for a time in doubt. Having slipped into an apparent bureaucratic limbo, their enrollments

TABLE 6 Enrollments in non-university* higher education: 1967-1975

	Higher Technical Schools (inc. Artistic)	Normal Schools**	Other 4 yr. Translation and Commercial Schools***	Total	University Enrollments*
1967-68	33381	28050	3259	64690	55484
1969-70	42454	23684	4044	70182	65590
1971-72	43621	24605	3972	72198	77052
1973-74	52513	19092	(4000?)	15605(?)	79477
1975-76	57719	18573	(4000?)	80292(?)	83360

* As defined by Law of 27 July 1971

** For both primary and lower secondary schools (see text)

*** University-level before 1971

Sources: Van de Vijvere 1977; B.U.S. Rapports Annuels; Annuaire Statistique de l'Enseignement, XIV (1969-70).

* * * * * * *

were recorded in neither the university nor the non-university totals. This situation should now be rectified by the recent upgrading of long technical higher education.

The rapid development of technical higher education eventually required a major effort of reorganization and consolidation. Part of the problem was caused by the uncontrolled proliferation of institutions. In the decade 1958-1968 alone their numbers jumped from 32 to 53 (Fragnière & Sellin 1973). It was relatively easy for a technical secondary school to add advanced courses to its offerings in the fashion of the Université du travail of Charleroi (see above, p. 23). This produced small and inefficient units differing markedly in quality. To earn a gradué diploma could take from one to three years, depending upon the program and the institution; the more advanced degree of Technical Engineer usually took three, but occasionally four

years (Van de Vijvere 1977). However, it was not so much the disorderliness of the technical sector which necessitated reorganization; it was the need to conform with standards set by other members of the European Economic Community. Belgium had not joined the movement during the late 1960s to link higher technical studies with universities in Gesamthochschulen of various sorts. As a result, Belgian technical engineers were left somewhere between the full four-year engineering degrees of other countries and the diplomas of short-cycle technical education. Belgium consequently was obliged to raise the status of its technical engineers in order to avoid effectively lowering it. In fact this was more difficult than might be expected.

Legislation aimed at consolidating and upgrading technical higher education was introduced in 1970 and again in 1972. It was not voted upon on either of these occasions because of the complications produced by conflicting regional and ideological forces. Beyond these familiar Belgian political obstacles, however, lay a series of equally troublesome substantive issues. The first of these is purely economic. In 1973-74 each university student cost the state 163,000 BF, but the average cost of a non-university student was only 89,300 BF (C.N.P.S. 1976). While upgrading technical higher education was a laudable objective, the government had no desire to increase its cost by assigning it an expensive research role, or by adding more highly trained staff. Secondly, to inflate the technical engineer's degree to a four year course of study would undoubtedly mean adding more advanced work in basic, theoretical classes. This is precisely what many of the students were eager to escape when they originally chose this form of schooling. This sort of academic drift would be likely to encourage the present trend, strongly supported by the teachers' unions, to substitute full-time professional teaching staff for the part-time teacher-practioners who help to maintain close contacts with local industries. Thus, becoming more academic could

weaken some of the most distinctive and valuable characteristics of the higher technical schools. Finally, there is the possibility that closer cooperation with the universities might become a means of upgrading the technical schools. At present the separation between the university and the non-university realms has been nearly total. An inquiry into this subject by the C.N.P.S. revealed a scattering of exceptional contacts, but no systematic interaction (C.N.P.S. 1976, Appendix I). Yet, this compartmentalization is inefficient in several ways. Students who switch from one sector to another, for example, generally lose all of the credit for their past work; and the excess capacity that the universities currently have might conceivably be shared with other institutions. To overcome this ingrained tradition of separation, nevertheless, would undoubtedly require offering strong incentives for cooperation to the universities.

In order to obtain the legislation needed to reorganize technical higher education the government had to steer around all of these pitfalls. The Law of 18 February 1977 erected a fundamental distinction between long and short-cycle technical higher education. The latter was left largely intact, with numerous technical schools still being authorized to offer various diplomas of gradué. But, the long programs were promoted to full four-year courses with entirely new degrees. The first two years of these programs would lead to a Candidate of Industrial Engineering degree, and the final two years to the degree of Industrial Engineer. The schools entitled to deliver these credentials would also receive a special designation, Higher Industrial Institutes. Furthermore, the 57 schools presently delivering technical engineering degrees are to be consolidated into only 23 institutes of the new type. In order that existing technical engineers are not too seriously disadvantaged by the new regime, special juries have been constituted to which

they may submit evidence that they have earned (through professional achievement or additional study) the superior title of Industrial Engineer.

What the ultimate effects of the new law on technical higher education will be, of course, cannot yet be foreseen. It will undoubtedly solve the outstanding problem of the international status of graduates of Belgium's higher technical schools. Also, because it specifies more education, it will be to some degree more expensive. It is likely to induce a certain amount of academic drift, but within limits this could turn out to be a beneficial development. The current gap between the technical and university sectors of Belgium's binary system may indeed be too large. For several years it has been an explicit, but entirely theoretical, goal of government policy to encourage cooperation between these two sectors (C.N.P.S. 1976). Any meaningful movement in this direction would necessitate some fundamental institutional changes, but such changes would be greatly facilitated if the distance between the mentalities of the two sectors was reduced.

3. The Uncertainty of University-State Relations

The most immediate objective of the higher education law of 1971 was to base the financing of all Belgian university institutions upon identical, objective criteria. However, beyond this a more far-reaching equalization of these institutions was foreseen by the lawmakers. It was intended that they would become more alike administratively as the state institutions acquired greater control over their own operating budgets and more direct authority over their own programs and personnel. In addition, there was hope that these developments would ultimately permit a substantial degree of planning and cooperation between institutions. The eight years since the implementation of this law have seen few of these benefits realized. The financial arrangements have not conformed to the original provisions of the law, in part because of

the stagnation of enrollments and in part due to the government's reconsideration of its commitments. Administratively the universities have evolved in the opposite direction from that foreseen in 1971. The free institutions, instead of providing a model of autonomy for the state universities, have been forced to conform more and more closely to the bureaucratic regulation of the Ministries. The resulting uncertainties have precluded systematic efforts at planning and coordination to date; but they have brought an unintended unity to the university institutions as they have found it increasingly necessary to concert their efforts against the dictates of the state.

From the point of view of the government the financial commitments made to the universities in 1971 were overly generous. Legislation was consequently passed the following year to scale these obligations down somewhat. At the same time student fees were raised, despite vociferous opposition, from 1500 to 6000 BF (still only $200, and not applicable to scholarship students). When these measures took effect in 1974 they reversed a trend of sharply increasing real allocations for university operating expenditures (C.N.P.S. 1976). These steps were taken before the economic crisis affected Belgium, creating conditions of austerity which are still in effect. Another university finance law in 1976 (6 January) imposed a 5% cut in non-salary expenditures and placed new financial restrictions upon the universities (Van de Vijvere 1977). Since then further steps have been taken to chip away at various parts of the universities' budget.* In part these efforts are the outgrowth of a pervasive feeling in the national government that the universities' claims are out of line. In 1977, for example, the new minister of French Education, Joseph Michel, revealed an absence of sympathy for their financial woes: "if the state or private universities complain of having been victims of a policy of budgetary austerity, it is precisely because until the present

* Tuition has been raised to 10,000 BF for 1978-79, and the per-student subsidy will be reduced.

they have lived too liberally, carried along by lavish budgets and the dispersion of new faculties to the four corners of the country" (Le Monde de l'éducation, September 1977, p. 29). Thus, an almost vindictive spirit toward the universities exists at the highest levels of government. Although this attitude is largely a product of the events of this decade, it is nevertheless an important force acting upon current policy in higher education.

There can be little argument about the relative inefficiency of the university sector as a whole. The financial parity that was the chief objective of the 1971 law has not been attained, and in fact appears unattainable. Only the three largest universities are funded by the standard per-student allocations established in the 1971 Law. The smaller institutions benefit from the minimum funding provisions of the law, and four state institutions are guaranteed funding at more advantageous pre-1971 rates. The differences are,on the average, substantial: 204,000 FB per student in 1977 for those using the 1971 formulae; 252,000 FB for those invoking minimum funding levels; and 293,000 FB for institutions having recourse to guaranteed rates (Ancion 1978). The stagnation in university enrollments has made these inequities a permanent feature of university finance. The universities would not countenance any new arrangement that would give them less, and the government is currently unwilling and scarcely able to give more. The consequence of this stalemate is constant pressure for piecemeal budgetary cutbacks. The universities protest this pressure with the compelling argument that their budgets consist overwhelmingly of fixed costs for personnel and physical plant. The feeling on the part of the government, nevertheless, is that university payrolls and facilities have become needlessly bloated through irresponsible management. They therefore conclude that the only remedy is tighter governmental control over university affairs. Controls were of course built into the 1971 law, but the atmosphere of mutual suspicion and incompre-

hension has made their actual application more severe than might otherwise have been the case.

The regulations and controls established in 1971 have had distinctly different effects upon the state and the free institutions. Those of the state have long complained of excessive government authority over their affairs. Their rectors and vice-rectors are chosen by the Crown upon the advice of the Minister of Education, and are not always the choice of the university. Nine of the thirty-one members of the university administrative councils are chosen independently by the Ministry. Tenured appointments and promotions must go through the Ministry, and the same is true for the creation of any new course or program (C.N.P.S. 1976). Under these conditions political considerations often assume a prominent place in decisions affecting university personnel and policy. Since the state universities have neither the capacity nor the incentives to become more innovative and cost-efficient, their administration has been affected by a type of bureaucratic paralysis.

The university community, in particular, felt that the complete control over personnel and programs enjoyed by the free universities ought to be extended to state institutions. However, the differences in their respective financial situations also constituted an important impediment to this goal. Before 1971 the free universities received considerably smaller governmental allocations than did the state universities. Since they had the responsibility of living within their budgets, they had to keep faculty and staff size at moderate levels, pay them less, and utilize part-time and adjunct teachers. Even with the more generous funding levels established in 1971 (which included salary parity between state and free institutions) the free universities remain far more efficient with regard to staffing than their public counterparts. The only way this discrepency could be overcome under the current law would be for the state universities to undergo substantial growth--i.e. the

reverse of the present trend. The government, then, is reluctant to grant administrative autonomy to the state universities with their poor managerial records at a time when its top priority is cost reduction. (How willing politicians would be to relinquish their influence over these minor fiefdoms is another matter, seldom mentioned but certainly germane.) The drift of government policy has consequently been toward even tighter control.

The imposition of governmental controls has represented a difficult adjustment for the free universities, who had been accustomed to managing their own affairs in their own private fashion. However, it was precisely for this reason that the government suspected them of embarking upon capital outlays and new programs in such a way as to maximize their revenues from the state. In their desire to hold down university expenses and to make the universities closely accountable for the allocations they receive the government has erected an intricate webbing of specific regulations. Taking Human Sciences for an example, it has been stipulated that the student/staff ratio (taux d'encadrement) shall not be less than 14/1; that 58.3% of the per-student allocation will go for academic staff, 9% for administrative staff, and 32.7% for operating expenses; and that the university shall have not more than 10 square meters of floor space for each student, for which they may not pay more than 28,867 FB/m^2 in construction costs (Ancion 1978). This degree of external regulation has resulted in an unforeseen increase in internal regulation. The university administrations have had little choice but to centralize decision-making in order to guarantee compliance with governmental requirements. Thus the capacity to innovate, or even to make normal adjustments to changing circumstances, has been diminished at every level of the university. The free universities now complain that they have lost their capacity to innovate, and even to manage their own affairs. Bureaucratic paralysis, while not yet as debilitating as in the state universities, nevertheless

seems to be the fate of the free universities as well.

It is difficult to assign blame for this state of affairs. The government's desire for economy and the universities' need for autonomy are equally legitimate concerns. Yet, the regime established in 1971 seems to frustrate both. It is in the interest of each university to claim and spend the maximum allowable under the existing formulae; and the government has good reason to impede or block new initiatives by the universities since they invariably require additional funding. The fact is that the 1971 Finance Law has not worked smoothly, but with a considerable amount of friction. And, the product of this friction has been mutual suspicion and resentment between the universities and the government. For that reason it appears that this regime, although now in its seventh year, is nevertheless inherently unstable. Either the universities must be granted a substantially greater degree of control over their own affairs, as advocated by the C.N.P.S. (1976), or university affairs will be subject to ever tighter controls. Recent developments on two specific issues illustrate these alternatives.

It is evident to all observers that the long-standing distinction between "legal" degrees (conforming to an officially prescribed curriculum) and "scientific" degrees(created by a university) has long outlived its usefulness. The list of "legal" degrees dates from 1933, but is still utilized in determining eligibility for certain government positions. The university community would like to see all degrees be offered on the authority of the university, much as they are in the United States. However, the Flemish Minister of Education is reputed to favor the opposite solution--state-decreed curricula for all Belgian university degrees. The eventual solution (or non-solution) of this problem may well be indicative of the future direction of change.

One of the problems created by the advent of no-growth in the seventies has been the alarming increase in the proportion of tenured academic personnel.

The government eventually felt compelled to try to contain this in part. A provision was consequently included in the 1976 university finance law to limit the proportion of tenured scientific (i.e. non-teaching research) staff to 40%. Unfortunately, many of the state institutions had already surpassed that figure. In response to their understandable complaints this regulation has recently been revised to permit 5% of the untenured to be granted tenure each year. This episode seems to show how controls beget more controls; but it also reveals how fine-tuning the regulations compromises their original purpose. The result is a complex and burdensome procedure for all universities which will only marginally affect the situation at those institutions facing the worst problem.

The two most important steps that would create greater autonomy for the universities are, first, allowing the state institutions the same degree of control over programs, personnel and internal organization currently enjoyed by the free ones; and second, granting all institutions the right to spend their governmental subsidy as they see fit. Neither of these developments seems likely as long as the present mistrust between government and university continues to prevail. However, beyond this consideration such measures would also necessitate additional responsibilities on the part of the universities. They would have to strengthen their internal administrations in order to be able to engineer some painful decisions and some inescapable economizing. The universities also need to establish an effective means of cooperation among themselves to avoid wasteful duplication of programs and to give themselves a stronger voice in higher education policy. The first of these conditions is quite problematic at this juncture, especially in the state institutions which have possessed comparatively little administrative responsibility to date. But, there is a possibility that the second condition is in the process of being realized.

Late in 1976 the Flemish Interuniversity Council (Vlaamse Interuniversitaire Raad: VlIR) was officially formed, thus partially fulfilling one of the recommendations of the C.N.P.S. in its important report, Une Nouvelle Stratégie Universitaire (1976). Although the francophone universities, as of this writing, had yet to agree upon the precise modalities of a comparable organization, it seems a virtual certainty that a Conseil Interuniversitaire Français will soon be formed. Such organizations hold the promise of eventually transcending the historical competition for governmental preferment between Belgian universities. And, cooperation will probably be more vital in the years ahead than at any time before. Since the state can no longer afford the uncontrolled duplication of facilities, coordination will be necessary in the creation of new programs and the paring away of those that have become redundant. If the interuniversity councils can bring this about voluntarily their creation will have certainly been justified. There is some irony in the fact that the National Council for Scientific Policy had been the advocate of these organizations. Since its creation in the 1920s the C.N.P.S. has been one of the most effective spokesmen for the interests of the university. But, as the tasks and the problems of higher education have grown in size and complexity the limitations of the C.N.P.S. have become apparent. It often reflects, rather than harmonizes, the conflicting interests of the different universities; it lacks the staff to deal with the specific, ongoing problems of higher education; and its primary orientation toward science policy gives it a certain bias toward university affairs. It would consequently be a positive development if the interuniversity councils could assume the mantle of defending university interests in the years ahead. One likely outcome of such a development could be the complete bifurcation of higher education policy and practice according to linguistic regime. There is nothing to prevent the VlIR negotiating with the Flemish Ministry of Education from

reaching agreements different from those worked out by the CIF and the French Ministry of Education. This would naturally tend to widen even further the separation between the French and Flemish universities, but it might possibly make innovation within each sector somewhat easier. In any case, such a situation would be consistent with the general pattern of devolution that currently seems to be the most practical way to lessen Belgium's fundamental cultural antagonisms.

4. Future Prospects of Belgian Universities

The late sixties and the early seventies were perhaps the most turbulent period in the 800+ year history of that venerable Western institution, the university. Belgium, at first glance, would seem to be no exception to these events; the landscape of higher education was completely transformed and the universities were placed upon a new financial basis during these years. Yet behind these conspicuous and contentious rearrangements change came rather gradually to Belgian universities. In the faculties and the classrooms the spirit of the modern university survived less battered than in any of her European neighbors (cf. Geiger 1978). The political fervent that swept through other Western universities was overshadowed in Belgium by the longstanding conflict between the linguistic communities. The considerable diversification and vocational articulation of the non-university sector preserved the universities from drastic institutional experimentation. But most importantly, the maintenance of professorial control over academic matters kept the standards of university work and university graduates at a relatively high level. Belgian universities have consequently retained much of the elite quality that characterized European universities in general before 1960. However, the cultivation of high standards has meant that relatively few Belgians can benefit from a university education. Enrollments

consequently leveled off in the early seventies, and Belgian universities experienced the onset of no-growth a full decade before it had been expected.

The stabilization of enrollments has left Belgium with more ample university facilities than are strictly justified by the current university population. Supporting these facilities presents a financial problem for the government, but no-growth presents more fundamental difficulties from an institutional standpoint. The most painless way for institutions to adapt to new conditions is through growth; rearranging stable or declining resources is tantamount to self-mutilation. Given the government's present drive to economize and the universities' zealous defense of their droits acquis, no-growth could well produce the ossification of the status-quo. The absence of growth in the teaching staff is likely to exacerbate an already unhealthy situation. The traditional compartmentalization of Belgian universities means that academicians almost always remain at the institutions in which they received their training. In addition, the great majority of the teaching staff are tenured, and thus not compelled to remain abreast of expanding frontiers of research in their field. With this combination the potential for obsolescence is obviously great. A constant flow of freshly trained personnel is consequently desirable to counteract somewhat this tendency. But, maintaining even a moderate flow of new personnel is already a serious problem.

For purely institutional considerations, then, there would be ample justification for a policy of inducing renewed growth. However, a larger question remains of whether Belgium actually needs more university education. Only a few years earlier this question would scarcely have been raised, but today a cloud of distinctly negative sentiments hangs over the universities. The government has no desire to see the additional burden on the budget that more university students would bring; the public is well aware of the weakening

market for university graduates; and much of the university community would like to lessen the failure rate by admitting fewer rather than more new students. These are essentially shortsighted views, based upon impressions drawn from current difficulties. A longer ranging view might focus on the decadence of the traditional industries of Wallonia, the desirability of supplanting them with light, high technology industries that would not suffer from the same logistical handicaps; it might also scan the possibilities offered by Brussels' role as an European center. It could well be that permitting only 6% of an age cohort to earn a university degree is an uneconomically restrictive use of this national resource; that it might be a factor in the emmigration of jobs or the immigration of highly trained manpower educated in other nations' universities. Perhaps the alternatives to more university education, for Belgian youth and the Belgian economy, are worse than the visibly negative short-term effects that university expansion might presently bring.

A renewal of university growth could be pursued in two distinctly different ways. A new clientele might be sought among adult learners seeking to extend or revise their educational credentials, or there is certainly room to increase the rate of university attendance of the traditional audience, the secondary-school graduate.

In keeping with the relative elitism of her universities, Belgium is decidedly behind other OECD countries in opening higher education to the non-traditional student. It has always been possible in Belgium for a qualified person to prepare for a national degree outside of the universities. But, particularly since the suppression of special governmental examining boards in 1970 the odds are steeply against the handful of autodidacts who brave this route. Numerous special commissions over the past several years have investigated the possibilities of filling this gap. From these inquiries four

distinct facets of this issue have emerged, all of which are touched upon in the recommendations of the C.N.P.S. (1976):

1) Recurrent education: in 1973 and 1974 a series of laws were enacted to establish and finance educational leaves for vocational training. Although this represents some of the most progressive legislation of this type in Europe, it has scarcely been utilized by Belgian workers (Von Moltke & Schneevoigt 1977). It is not really relevant to the universities in any case, since they offer neither partial courses for supplemental training nor part-time offerings for those who might want to complete a degree. Thus, a major adaptation would have to be made by the universities in order for them to become a part of the inchoate scheme for recurrent education.

2) Establishing programs of part-time university education during hours when working people are free would be the most important step in opening the universities to adult learners. However, the obstacles to this development are fundamental to the existing university structure. They include the year-long units of existing degree programs, and the method of government subsidization based upon full-time student enrollments.

3) Many OECD countries have followed the lead of Sweden in opening the university to mature students possessing work experience in lieu of the usual secondary school credentials. After what has already been said about the difficulty of university study in Belgium, it should be clear that students recruited in this manner would have a problem meeting prevailing academic standards. So, in this area too, substantial changes would be necessary before a significant number of this category of student could attend Belgian universities.

4) Serious planning has already taken place for the establishment of an open university similar to the British model. If implemented the open university would be based upon a combination of television and computer

technology. According to current thinking the initial effort would be tentative and minimal, with the possibility of subsequent expansion dependent upon results. The university community initially had been opposed to an institutionally separate open university (like that in Britain); but it seems to be conceded now that they would be the ones to organize and administer the programs. There are still, however, sizable drawbacks to an open university having to do with economy and efficiency. The enormous start-up and fixed costs of this medium can scarcely be justified by the size of the Flemish and Walloon communities. An open university (really two, one French and one Flemish) could easily turn out to be far more expensive and less productive than the universities now in place.

The major accommodations that the universities would have to make in order to attract non-traditional students are theoretically possible, given sufficiently compelling justification. But does this justification presently exist? There is currently little discernable demand for such programs on the part of potential students, but this could be expected. Programs such as these postulate a new and radically altered orientation of the population toward higher education which, it is assumed, will produce benefits by upgrading the work force and enhancing individual satisfaction. These are articles of faith rather than demonstrable propositions. Nevertheless, common sense would indicate that such an orientation could only result from a gradual process of mutual adaptation between institutions and their clientele. New programs for non-traditional students would, if successful, effectively create their own demand over time. It also seems reasonable to expect that in the initial phases such programs would prosper most in the non-university sector, where instruction is more vocationally specific and less academically demanding. This would suggest that the universities' role in the near future will be limited to perhaps establishing some carefully selected part-time and

evening programs.

If the universities were determined to augment their current student population as well as the number of eventual graduates, they need look no further than their own first-year students. Here there is no question of individual demand; half of the students desiring a university education are being eliminated by the severity of the first-year exams. A significant portion of these students might be saved by changes in curriculum and pedagogy. Compared to other countries the course load of Belgian students is heavy indeed. This situation adds to the difficulty while also promoting superficiality and the substitution of memorization for learning. The C.N.P.S. recommended (1976) that the first cycle be directed toward a more general formation that would stress the basic intellectual skills necessary for advanced study. Such an approach implies smaller classes and more individualized instruction. The universities maintain that this could only be accomplished by enlarging the teaching staff, but if they were pressed considerable progress in this direction might be made by reallocating professorial manpower from the second to the first cycle.

Many in the university community would undoubtedly protest that a higher pass rate could only be achieved by lowering academic standards. While not entirely wrong, there are two considerations that might mollify this concern. Current standards may well be too demanding, so that capable students who do not adapt quickly to the academic regimen are severely penalized or eliminated. Secondly, a slight softening of these rigorous standards could be tolerated without compromising university scholarship, and might even be realistic in the light of the recent evolution of other E.E.C. university systems.

There is one comparatively minor administrative change that might contribute significantly to the flexibility and the accessibility of Belgian universities. If credit were given to students for each course they took,

rather than for an entire year's work, many of the obstacles mentioned above would be removed.* Students with weak secondary preparations might then adjust to university-level work at a more appropriate pace. Universities would then have the option and the incentive to devise part-time programs for non-traditional students. Such a change, however, would require some readjustment of the basis of the universities' subsidies. If it became necessary to call into question the entire financial settlement, a course-credit proposal might become submerged in the ensuing partisan bargaining.

This last consideration again calls attention to the essential dichotomy that has always governed the evolution of Belgian universities. On one side, the basic legal and financial framework under which the universities must operate has been determined in the national political arena. This has involved the universities in prolonged and often bitter partisan conflicts, and has at intervals produced fairly abrupt transformations in their mode of operation. On the other side, however, in the classrooms and research facilities of the universities, the dominant note has been continuity and gradual change. This pattern allowed the Belgian universities to survive the turbulent origins of their current regime in 1968-71 with their scholarly traditions no more than temporarily impaired. In all likelihood this dichotomy will persist in some form into the future. But, whereas in the past the four original universities, as unique institutions with distinct constituencies of students and supporters, entered the political lists singly or in temporary coalition primarily to pursue their own interests, the next decade may witness the coalescense of a united front, first within the two university communities, and then, one would hope, among all Belgian university

---

* It is presently possible for course credits to be offered under some circumstances. Such arrangements exist at the Universitaire Instellung Antwerpen for second-cycle work.

institutions. Such a development would not eliminate the state from its predominant role in university affairs, but it should provide the basis for a more healthy and harmonious relationship than that which has prevailed since 1971. And, improved university-state relations would ensure the adaptation of the universities to the exigencies of the future--but only in the conservative and gradual Belgian style.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

Ancion, William. 1978. Le système de financement et de controle en vigueur en Belgique. For OECD meeting on the effects of present financing and control systems on the internal management of universities: Paris, Feb. 15-17.

Annuaire statistique de l'Education Nationale. 1969-70. XIV. Belgium: Ministère de l'enseignement.

Beguin, André. 1976. Le face cachée de l'enseignement: analyse sociologique du rendement quantitatif des études. Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain.

Bonte, A. 1976. Examenuitslagen in de kandidatuur. Intermediair, 12-18 juni.

Bureau de statistiques universitaires (B.S.U.). Rapports annuels. Bruxelles: Fondation universitaire.

Conseil Nationale de la Politique Scientifique (C.N.P.S.). 1976. Une nouvelle stratégie universitaire. Bruxelles: C.N.P.S.

Dejean, Christian, and Binnemans, Charles-Louis. 1971. L'Université belge: du pari au defi. Bruxelles: Editions de l'Institut de Sociologie de L'Université Libre de Bruxelles.

Demoulin, Robert. 1967. L'Université de Liège de 1936 à 1966: Vol. I, Notices historiques. Liège: Rectorat de l'Université.

Dubuisson, Marcel. 1963. L'Expansion des universités belges. Bulletin, Association des amis de l'Université de Liège, XXXV, 3-4: 8-37.

_____. 1968. Il faut d'urgence reformer la loi sur la collation des grades académiques. Revue universitaire de Liège, XL: 3-19.

L'Expansion universitaire. 1965. Bulletin, Association des amis de l'Université de Liège, XXXVII, 1: 3-13.

Florkin, Marcel. 1967. Les etablissements d'enseignement supérieur à Liège de 1794 à 1935. Bulletin, Association des amis de l'Université de Liège, XXXIX: 29-52.

Fragnière, Gabriele, and Sellin, Burkhart. 1973. Engineering education and profession in the European Community. Brussels: Commission of the European Communities.

Frédéricq, Paul. 1890. The study of history in Holland and Belgium. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, VIII, 10.

Geens, Gaston. 1976. Dix ans d'expansion universitaire: un état de la question. Revue générale, mars.

Geiger, Roger L. 1978. European universities--the unfinished revolution. Comparative Education Review, XXII, 2.

Harsin, Paul. 1954. L'Université de Liège. In Histoire des Universités Belges. Bruxelles: Collections Lebègue et Nationale.

Janne, Henri. 1974. The case of Belgian universities. Newsletter of the International Council on the Future of the Univeristy, I, 4.

Kluyskens, Albert. 1954. L'Université de Gand. In Histoire de Universiteś Belges. Bruxelles: Collections Lebègue et Nationale.

Langer-Brouir, M. 1961. L'Analyse de l'évolution de la population et des diplômes de l'Université de Liège (1817-1960). Bulletin, Association des amis de l'Université de Liège, XXXIII, 2: 1-58.

Lewalle, Paul. 1971-72. Structures des universités de l'état. Revue universitaire de Liège, XLIII-XLIV: 29-58.

Lijphart, Arend. 1977. Democracy in plural societies: a comparative exploration. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Mallinson, Vernon. 1963. Power and politics in Belgian education, 1815-1961. London: Heinemann.

Meynaud, Jean; Ladrière, Jean, and Perin, François. 1965. La création des organes de la politique scientifique nationale. In La décision politique en Belgique: Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 138. Paris: Colin.

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). 1966. Reviews of national science policy: Belgium. Paris: OECD.

_____. 1971. The development of higher education, 1950-67. Paris: OECD.

_____. 1974. Towards mass higher education: issues and dilemmas. Paris: OECD.

Phillipart, André. 1968. La question universitaire en Belgique: phénomène de politification. In Politique Belge, 1968. Bruxelles: Institut belge de science politique.

_____. 1969. La question universitaire. In Politique Belge, 1969. Bruxelles: Institut belge de science politique.

Rapport triennal sur la situation de l'enseignement supérieur. Vol. I, 1843-45; etc. Bruxelles: Belgium, Ministère de l'intérieur.

Spitaels-Evrard, Ann, 1972. Les étudiants ont la parole. Bruxelles: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles.

Teheux, Jean-Marie. 1964. Le nouveau régime d'accès aux études universitaires. Bulletin, Association des amis de l'Université de Liège, XXXVI, 4: 7-21.

L'Université Libre de Bruxelles pendant Vingt-cinq ans, 1834-60. 1860. Bruxelles: Van Meenen.

Van de Vijvere, Jose. 1977. L'enseignement post-secondaire en Belgique: entre l'évolution et la mutation. Paedagogica Europaea, XII, 1: 41-61.

Van der Essen, Leon. 1954. L'Université de Louvain. In Histoire des Universités Belges. Bruxelles: Collection Lebègue et Nationale.

Vanderkindere, L. 1884. L'Université de Bruxelles, notice historique. Bruxelles: Weissenbruch.

Van Kalken, Frans. 1954. L'Université Libre de Bruxelles. In Histoire des Universités Belges. Bruxelles: Collection Lebègue et Nationale.

Verhoeven, Jef. 1979. The Belgian universities under crossfire: linguistic communalism, bureaucratization and democratization. In Hans Daalder, ed. Legislatures and Universities (forthcoming).

Von Moltke, Conrad, and Schneevoigt, Norbert. 1977. Educational leaves for employees: European experience for American consideration. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Welsch, Maurice. 1972. Liège devant la reorganisation universitaire: problèmes et perspectives. Revue universitaire de Liège, XLIV, 2: 15-27.

INSTITUTION FOR SOCIAL AND POLICY STUDIES

The mission of the Institution for Social and Policy Studies (ISPS) is to encourage and undertake multidisciplinary research and education. The ISPS is oriented to the exploration of social problems rather than to the refinement of discipline-based methodology. In recent years, ISPS research has focused on the problems of the city, education, health service delivery, and on the modeling of social systems. Currently, research is also being developed on criminal justice, governmental reform, environment, income distribution, aging, the policy-making process, and value problems in public policy. ISPS is not a consulting organization but an instrument for enriching the social sciences and related disciplines in the University.

Higher Education Research Group
Institution for Social and Policy Studies
1732 Yale Station (36 Mansfield Street)
New Haven, Connecticut 06520